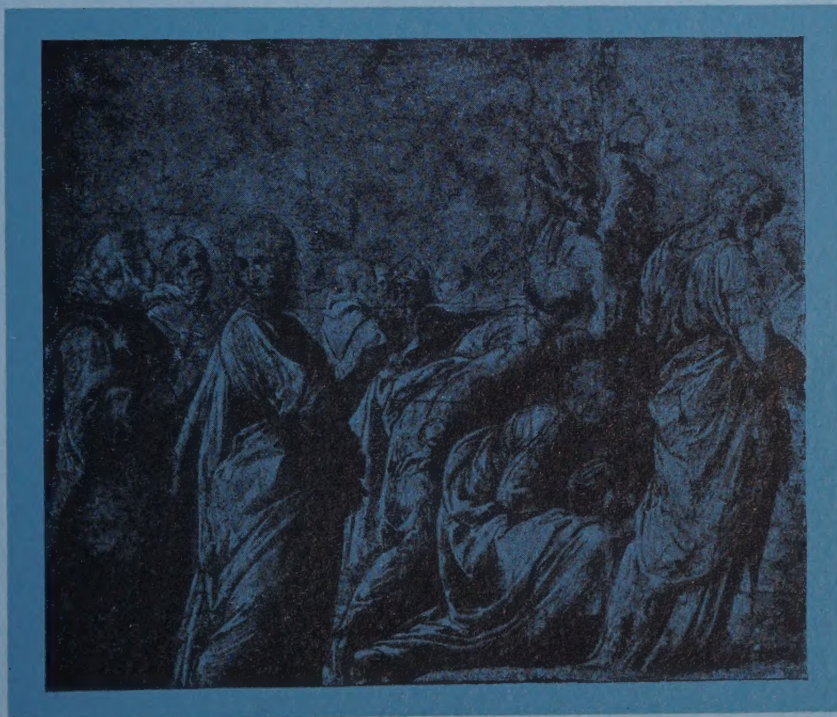


GAZETTE DES BEAUX-ARTS

NOVEMBER 1945



C O N T E N T S

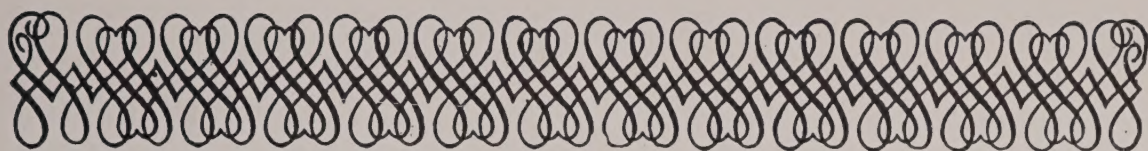
EXCAVATIONS BY THE FRENCH ARCHEOLOGICAL MISSION IN AFGHAN-
ISTAN, 1941-1942: BEGRAM-KAPISI, CAPITAL OF THE KUSHAN EMPIRE, BY
R. GHIRSHMAN. ¶ THE FREEDOM OF MEDIEVAL ART, BY RUDOLF BER-
LINER. ¶ A NEW INTERPRETATION OF RAPHAEL'S *DISPUTA*, BY CLEMENS
SOMMER. ¶ WILLIAM JOHN COFFEE AS A PORTRAIT SCULPTOR, BY
ANNA WELLS RUTLEDGE. ¶ A SURVEY OF SWEDISH ART LITERATURE,
1940-1945, BY OSCAR REUTERSVARD.

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EXCAVATIONS BY THE FRENCH ARCHEOLOGICAL
MISSION IN AFGHANISTAN, 1941–1942

BEGRAM—KAPISI

CAPITAL OF THE KUSHAN EMPIRE



FIG. 1. — A golden coin of the King Kanishka (144-173 A.D.).

Alexander the Great's conquests in India were as short-lived as they were rapid. Scarcely seven years after the death of the great conqueror, there were no more Macedonian soldiers left either in India or in that part of modern Afghanistan which is situated south of the Hindu-Kush range of mountains. The Greeks, however, succeeded in remain-

ing north of these mountains, in the magnificent and rich plain which stretches as far as the Oxus river (Amu-Daria), and about 250 B.C. they even founded there a kingdom which has since been known as the Greco-Bactrian Kingdom. The rulers of this kingdom, animated by the spirit of the great Macedonian, crossed the Hindu-Kush passes in the early part of the II Century B.C., and built for themselves a powerful realm which embraced all of Afghanistan and the northwestern part of India. In addition to their large capital of Balkh (close to the modern city of Mazar-i-Sharif), they founded another capital, Sagala — the modern Sialkot in the Punjab. It was on the royal highway connecting both capitals, 60 kms. north of Kabul, that they founded the city of Kapisi, the ruins of which are now known by



the name of Begram (Figs. 3 and 4).

The Greco-Bactrian Kingdom did not last long. In the II Century B.C. the more extended areas of the Hellenic world suffered encroachment by nomads of Scytho-Iranian origin who periodically pressed forward from Central Asia. Thus the rich Greek cities of the north coast

of the Black Sea at that time saw the appearance on their shores of the Sarmatians, who brought with them a new civilization with considerably improved armaments and glistening polychrome jewelry. This, carried by the Goth and Germanic peoples, was to become the jewelry of the court of the Merovingians. Another branch of the same movement, formed by a confederation of Scythian tribes, crossed the Yaxartes River (Sir Daria) and the Oxus (Amu Daria) and, around 130 B.C., put an end to the Greco-Bactrian Kingdom.

Greek and Latin historians have left us hardly half a dozen lines about all these events which shook Central Asia at that time. This gap has been partly filled by the Chinese annalists, thanks to whom we know that, on the ruins of the Greco-Bactrian Kingdom, was founded another kingdom which rapidly transformed itself into a powerful empire—that of the Yüeh-chih or Kushans. But no chronological data is provided by these Chinese records. Besides, since the beginning of the II Century A.D., no information whatever is any longer to be found on the Kushans in Chinese sources. Numerous are the hypotheses proposed by scholars in regard to the dates of Kushan kings, and especially as to the date of the accession to the crown of the most glorious of those kings—Kanishka.

The French excavations in Begram



FIG. 2. — IV Century A. D. — A terracotta potter's tool with a Kharoshti inscription.



FIG. 3. — Site of Begram with the Hindu-Kush ridge of mountains in the background.

Kapisi-Begram.

The oldest of them — its origin reaching back to the time of the Greco-Bactrian kings — was still inhabited in the I Century of our era, under the first Kushan dynasty. It had a strong rampart flanked by square towers.

The second city, above it, corresponds to the second Kushan dynasty founded by king Kanishka, patron of the Buddhist religion, whose empire stretched from Herat to the valley of the Ganges and from Russian Turkestan to the Indian Ocean (Fig. 1). The reign of this dynasty coincides with the most beautiful and flourishing period of the Kushan empire, when the commerce of the world attained a volume and importance unequalled in Antiquity. Indeed, in the first decades of the I Century of our era a Roman sailor made the discovery of the monsoon, the regularity of the blowing of which permits continuous navigation between the Red Sea and the Western coast of India.



FIG. 4. — Site of Begram, seen from the northern side.



FIG. 5. — Crossing of the Gorbant and Panjshir rivers on a raft.

happily bring us a most important solution of the problem of the chronology, history and civilization of the Kushans in that kingdom whose existence covers the first four centuries of our era.

Thanks to the coins discovered, numbering as many as four hundred, the French mission was able to determine the date of three superimposed cities hidden under the ruins of the city of

Thus, all that the refined civilization of the Roman Empire — and particularly the rich Alexandrian workshops — was able to create, was sent to the East from where the merchant boats brought back spices, precious stones, and especially Chinese silks, which were so highly prized by the Roman society of the first centuries of our era. This silk,

which was partly carried overland — through Persia, Mesopotamia and Syria — during the time of the second Kushan dynasty, was forwarded to the harbors of Western India, then belonging to that dynasty, whence it was further shipped to the Roman Empire. The caravans coming from China, after having crossed the Pamirs and the Hindu-Kush, went down along the river of Kabul; then, from Peshawar on, they followed the Indus down to the harbors in order to



FIG. 6. — A street at Gulbahar, small town of Kohistan. (From left to right are: Mr. Ch. W. Thayer, Secretary, U. S. Legation, Kabul; Mrs. R. Ghirshman; Mr. A. A. Kohzad, Director, Museum of Kabul.)



FIG. 7. — A village weaver at Kohdaman.

load their merchandise on ships sailing to the Occident.

products as bronze, glass, and plaster fragments, originating in the imperial workshops — particularly in those of Alexandria (Fig. 10).

The art, now called the Greco-Buddhist art, had under the second Kushan dynasty, a most remarkable flowering. That art produced its best masterpieces for the service of the official religion, as evidenced by the fact that certain parts of the empire, especially Gandhara (the region of modern Peshawar, which was the winter capital of Kanishka) and Kapisi (region of Begram), were then covered throughout by hundreds of Buddhist monasteries decorated with sculptures and paintings depicting the life and miracles of Buddha.

Begram-Kapisi, which was located on that road, and which served as the summer capital of King Kanishka, thus became an important center and a transitional warehouse. Never before had the Kushan empire been the center of such an active circulation of gold coins which were the basis of the empire's commercial exchange with Rome. And the French Archeological Mission uncovered in the remains of the Kushan palaces, such Roman prod-

ucts as bronze, glass, and plaster fragments, originating in the imperial workshops — particularly in those of Alexandria (Fig. 10).



FIG. 8. — A nomad child.



FIG. 9. — Greco-Buddhist art, IV Century A. D. — Stone statue of the Goddess Arokhsho.

Its society was exhausted and its art was showing an increasing decadence (Fig. 9).

By the middle of the IV Century, a most dangerous enemy appeared on the northern border of the empire — the Chionites-Hephtalites or, as the Occidental historians call them, the White Huns, whose nomadic tribes came from Central Asia. The Kushan Kings, by becoming clients of the Persian "King of Kings," tried primarily to insure the safety of their Occidental border in order the better to resist the new enemy — but all in vain. Just as the barbarous Huns who were to crash the border of China in order to replace the national dynasties with their own; just as other Germanic barbarians were to break through the Roman lines and substitute themselves for the Roman Empire in Occidental Europe; so did the Chionites-Hephtalites subjugate the completely decadent Kushan empire.

We have not come across any signs of violent destruction in the youngest city of Begram. Its population had to flee the terrible invader, abandoning its dwellings and burying in the ground beneath its rooms objects of domestic use which were too cumbersome to be taken along — an indication of the hope they nourished of being able to return to their homes. Vain hope; this was to be a departure forever. Life

Toward the middle of the III Century A.D. the second Kushan dynasty fell under the blow of a new adversary — the young Sassanian dynasty of Persia. Defeated but not crushed, the Kushan empire continued its existence under the third and fourth dynasties. It is to these that the third, and last, city of Begram corresponds. The Persian conquests deprived the empire of its most important provinces and, what is even more important, of its outlet to the sea, taking away from it the use of the harbors indispensable for its commerce.

Reduced but unbeaten, the empire continued the struggle and put forth every effort to maintain its old place in the world's trade. The riches accumulated during the previous flourishing period, permitted the empire to go on and maintain itself for a little while longer, but foreshadowing signs of its decline began to appear more and more.



FIG. 10. — Alexandrian art (?), II-III Century A. D. — A bronze statuette.

within the walls of the city was never to be resumed. From the end of the IV Century, the Hephtalites found themselves at the gates of India, at the same time that they were menacing the eastern frontier of Persia.

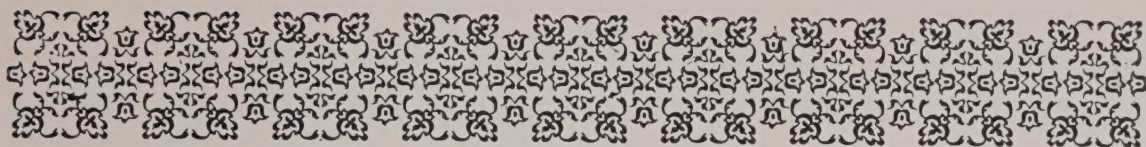
Thus came to an end the powerful Kushan empire which had been called upon to play such an important part in the life of the ancient world during the first four centuries of the Christian Era, on the threshold of the Middle Ages. The Kushans, conquerors from Central Asia, founded an empire comprised of several nations with different languages, religions and populations. They succeeded in uniting all of these around themselves, making the dynasty play the part of a point of purely political crystallization. They did not have the creative power for giving birth to a civilization of their own. But the Kushans fulfilled perfectly the historical missions which devolved upon them in the shaping of the destiny of Central Asia, which was so rich in events and about which — especially in its ancient periods — so little is yet known. It is thanks to them that China, and along with her other Far Eastern countries, came to

know Buddhism. The Kushans served as intermediaries between the Occident — represented by the Roman Empire — and India and China; also they helped the great powers of the world of that time to better understand one another.

The city of Begram is the only site, known in our time, which, with its three superimposed strata, represents all the periods of evolution of the history of this empire. The exploration of that site has uncovered enough precious information on the Kushans to make us feel that the city still contains much to be explored, and to wish that the excavations in this region be actively continued.

R. GHIRSHMAN





THE FREEDOM OF MEDIEVAL ART

IT is unusual to acknowledge that western religious art could enjoy great freedom in depicting both historical events and church doctrines during the medieval period. Perhaps this is so because it has been generally accepted that medieval art was *symbolic*. But the term "symbolic" does not of itself dispose of the problem, which may be posed by the following question: "How could art dare to represent certain themes in such a way that verbal descriptions of them are historically or dogmatically or intellectually unacceptable?" In pursuing the answer to this question we intend to show that the freedom of art resulted from theological concepts of its role in the realm of religion. Some examples of the remarkable freedom accorded to artists will follow to illustrate our problem.

In the *Crucifixion* on the Korsunski gate in Novgorod, executed about 1150 (Fig. 1), Christ on the cross, still living, has freed his right arm and extends it to his mother.¹ This representation is without historical foundation, if it is interpreted

1. A. GOLDSCHMIDT, *Die Bronzetueren von Novgorod*, Marburg 1932, p. 16, 20, pl. 55. GOLDSCHMIDT sought an explanation for the gesture in the corresponding motif in Depositions. But in these an alleged fact is depicted. Even if GOLDSCHMIDT were right the problem would still remain. The significance of the gesture was recognized by FR. ADELUNG, *Die Korssun'schen Tueren*, Berlin 1823, p. 45, and by A. BRYKCSIJNSKI (quoted by J. LEVELET, in: "Revue de l'Art Chrétien", XLVI, 1903, p. 140). W. L. HILDBURGH (in: "Archaeologia", 81, 1931, p. 56) followed GOLDSCHMIDT's lead in the explanation of the gesture, but was much more puzzled by the representation than GOLDSCHMIDT.

literally. But it was not intended to be interpreted literally; the gesture was intended to visualize the intensification of Christ's agony as He looked upon His sorrowing mother, and to lend religious significance to her anguish. Either Bishop Alexander of Plock, who commissioned the gate, or Archbishop Wichmann of Magdeburg, to whom may have been entrusted the supervision of the details of the execution, thus interpreted this "Station" in Christ's Passion. Just as it was natural for the Bishop to give verbal assistance to his hearers or readers in understanding the significance of the events connected with the Passion, so too he saw no objection to affording a similar aid to spectators — an aid produced by the creative power of an artist; an aid to understanding through the medium of sight; an aid to which an emotional, not a reasoning response was expected.

Many representations show Christ standing in the sarcophagus with a body entirely or partially *in rigore mortis*, but actively standing, therefore living (Fig. 3). Others show Christ with a dead body but with the head of a living person on the Cross (Fig. 6),² or in the lap of the Virgin (Fig. 7). The corpse may have the eyes of a living person (Fig. 8), and a living body may have the eyes of a corpse (Fig. 9). These are some types of the representation of Christ dead, yet not lacking life. To be simultaneously dead and alive makes no sense rationally. But in the death of Christ the natural order had been superseded by supernatural life. Christ suffered *qua homo*. He died as man and the soul left Him. But *qua deus* His being a part of the Trinity was never affected. In order to show Christ victorious over death although being visibly a corpse, he was shown living in spite of the appurtenances of death. But it was never intended to convey "that the Saviour came back to life for a short period between the Crucifixion and the Entombment."³ Such an utterly fantastic interpretation proves how difficult it is to understand the intentions of an unrationalistic art through a rational approach. Reason is rather helpless before works of art, the verbal description of which is an inadequate means of communicating their subject matter.

Antonello da Saliba (Fig. 4) knew of course that Christ was not carried to the grave by angels. But he had to have angels in order to "show" that this "is" God. Hans Baldung Grien knew that Christ's dead body was not raised to heaven (Fig. 5). But he wanted to intensify the emotional effect by contrasting the utter human destruction with the grandeur of the heavenly abode.

2. Fig. 6 is reproduced here after K. LOEFFLER, *Schwäbische Buchmalerei in romanischer Zeit*, Augsburg 1928, pl. 17. The inscriptions refer to the death of Christ. The most revealing one reads: "After having suffered on the cross, now I am saving Adam" etc. — Fig. 7 (SCHREIBER, 973); The Pieta is not an "untrue" representation. For Catholic pre-modern exegesis the scene was reported in the Vulgata in Job 19, v. 27: "This hope of mine has been laid in my lap". Fig. 8 reproduced after C. DODGSON, *English woodcuts*, 1936, no. 13. —

3. K. KUENSTLE, *Ikongraphie der Christlichen Kunst*, vol. 1, Freiburg in Breisgau 1928, p. 486. Neither had FRANZ BOCK been able to explain the representation satisfactorily in: "Jahrbuch der K.K. Central-Commission zur Erforschung der Baudenkmale", III, 1859, p. 113. Nearest to my interpretation is that of MRS. [ANNA] JAMESON AND LADY EASTLAKE, *The History of Our Lord*, London 1864, v. II, p. 362. But I believe that the connection with the sacrament of the Eucharist has been established only in the advanced XIV Century.



FIG. 1. — GERMAN, about 1152. — Calvary. — Korsunski gate, Cathedral, Novgorod, Russia.

eyes and dealt with emotionally; that is, the thing seen and its intellectual interpretation do not have to be patently correlated.

The iconoclastic controversy of the VIII Century brought out the importance of the problem of whether matter could express the spiritual by means of material representation. The *Libri Carolini*, expressing the ideas of Charlemagne and his advisers, solved the problem by denying its existence.⁵ The very object of the controversy was whether images were able to reveal some "knowledge of God" beyond the power of words. One of the most famous sentences (II, 22): "as, of course, man can be saved without seeing pictures, but he cannot without the knowledge of God" evades the issue. The *Libri* confined the purpose of an image almost entirely to stimulating the memory by its content. The representation of the spiritual is beyond its power for words, not pictures, are spiritual teachers. Even specific emotional influ-

Another and most striking illustration of the problem is furnished by representations which constitute a contradiction of one of the most fundamental dogmas — the *Incarnation*, in which the Infant was shown coming down from heaven into the Virgin (Fig. 2). Pictorially her part in the formation of the Babe was denied. But neither the artists concerned nor the tolerant priests wanted to profess the Valentinian heresy.⁴ They would have been eager to admit that, of course, the representation was to be interpreted in a way that differed from the visual evidence. They would have wondered why a representation and its significance should be expected to correlate factually and unmistakably. From their point of view, what turns out to be false when formulated into words, may not be so when perceived by the

4. KUENSTLE, *loc. cit.*, p. 340.

5. Ed. H. BASTGEN, *Monumenta Germaniae, Concilia*, II, suppl., 1924. *Conf. lib. III, cap. 23; lib. II, cap. 30; lib. I, cap. 10, 17.*

ence of works of art was denied. But the contradictory acknowledgment of purely esthetic effects, the decorative value, and varied artistic qualities of paintings (IV, 27), proves that the problem was not explored to its full extent.

The authors of the *Libri* did not care for the investigation of specific expressive qualities of art, which were suggested by some of those who participated in the iconoclastic controversies of the late Ancient and early Byzantine periods.⁶ They denied the attribution to art of a revealing quality which had been recognized — its ability to portray the unseen world. This quality had evidently reached its unqualified recognition in statements of the rhetorician Dion Chrysostom (ca. 100 A.D.) and of the pagan philosopher Porphyrius (ca. 260 A.D.) who acknowledged that the otherwise intrinsically invisible can be made perceptible through art.⁷ This appreciation required that divine inspiration which had been recognized in poets since ancient times should be attributed also to artists. Rhetoricians were again the first to do so publicly. Dion granted this recognition, and Callistratus (III Century A.D.) stated it without ambiguity: "Works of art too are divinely inspired revelations."⁸ They reveal the divine as well as other invisible phenomena, by embodying them in form. Art makes its subject matters real by creating the very "structure of reality."⁹

To make perceptible is the aim of art, according to the elder Philostratus (died about 245 A.D.), and perceptibility of the invisible is attained through imagination, that is, through the faculty of creating suitable expressive forms.¹⁰ To him a realistic representation corresponding to actuality, was a matter of course, but only in so far as this actuality was adapted to the specific conditions of artistic form.¹¹ He who

6. J. GEFFCKEN, in: "Archiv fuer Religionswissenschaft", XIX, 1916/19, p. 286 ff. BO DE BORRIES, *Quid veteres philosophi de idolatria senserint*, Goettingen 1918.

7. Dion: *Olymp.*, 59. B. SCHWEITZER, *Neue Heidelberger Jahrbuecher*, 1925, p. 119. Porphyrius: J. BIDEZ, *Vie de Porphyre*, Gand 1913, p. 1+. GEFFCKEN, *loc. cit.* pp. 306 ff.

8. Dion: *Olymp.*, 49; Callistratus: *Stat.*, 2. SCHWEITZER, *loc. cit.*, pp. 121, 81.

9. Callistratus: *Stat.* 10 (notice the reasoning), and 2.

10. *Im.* II, 14; "Apollonius", VI, 19 (cf. SCHWEITZER, *loc. cit.*, p. 110. Although SCHWEITZER himself gave way ("Philologus" 89, 1934, p. 297), I believe his first interpretation of the phrase in *Apollonius* was, nevertheless, better than that of E. BIRMELIN, (in: "Philologus" 88, 1933, p. 395 ff.). M. W. BUNDY, *The Theory of imagination in classical and mediaeval thought*, the University of Illinois, 1927, p. 114 ff.; PHILOSTRATUS THE YOUNGER, *Imagines*, Introduction. Neither the PHILOSTRATI of the *Imagines* nor CALLISTRATUS wrote as philosophers of art. What they published may best be called models for looking at, and speaking about, works of art. It seems to me that they consistently followed more the point of view of contemporary artists than of philosophers. The elder Philostratus emphasized his friendship with the painter Aristodemus in his introduction. In explaining works of art, none of the three referred to abstract, philosophical principles, but they endeavored to teach how the forms must be understood in order to grasp the intentions of the artists, which of course they may have occasionally identified with their own ideas. (Since I wrote this KARL LEHMANN-HARTLEBEN published a masterly article on the *Imagines* of the elder PHILOSTRATUS, in: "The Art Bulletin", 23, 1941, p. 16 ff., compare there p. 41 ff.) They believed that *mimesis* and *phantasia* had to contribute their share if a picture was to be satisfactory. *Phantasia* will strive to make the invisible perceptible until the (whole) Being of the subject matter is represented (PHILOSTRATUS JR., Introduction). Bundy treated the history of the philosophical terms *mimesis* and *phantasia* extensively, but he paid little attention to the specific artistic problem of making things perceptible, a problem which refers to the "realization of the conception of phantasy" as well as to the "imitation of the visible". He seems to interpret "realization", etc. exclusively as a mental process.

11. Cf. e.g. *Im.* I, 12; II, 1.

grants approbation to that which accords with *nimesis*, with the imitation of visible nature, praises mere trivialities (I, 9). Philostratus had little interest in mere realistic effect, which aims at naturalistic illusion (I, 23). A "significant content" ought to be achieved by means of the "visible form" (II, 13). Art reaches beyond *mimesis* by visualizing "the inner meaning" proper to the subject matter (I, 9).¹² More important than the mere visual effect, be it ever so beautiful in itself, is the power of art to express its significance in a sense other than esthetic. Philostratus might have written the phrase of Bishop Asterius of Amasia (330-410): "I admire the artist for having given more attention to the harmony of spiritual expression than [merely] to that of the colors."¹³

In general, the ancient Greeks seem not to have approved of a purely hedonistic conception of art, but rather expected of it, above all, an appeal to the mind. They were highly interested in physiognomy, in the broadest sense of the term; in the expressive faculty of form,¹⁴ which was expected to embody something more than mere beauty alone.

It was the realization of the actual presence and the immediate experience of the god, not purely esthetic values, that, according to Dion, transported the beholder of the Olympian Zeus beyond all human suffering. Dion, by no means a believer in the idolatrous conception that a god lived in his image, attributed to this work of art the power to reveal an absolute reality through a non-intellectual, acquiescent



FIG. 2. — GERMAN, about 1435. — The Annunciation. — Marienkapelle, Wuerzburg.

12. Cf. O. KUELPE, *Anfaenge psychologischer Aesthetik bei den Griechen*, in: *Philosophische Abhandlungen*, Max Heinze . . . gewidmet, Berlin, 1906, p. 121.

13. *Hom. XII*; MIGNE, *Patrol. gr. XL*, col. 337.

14. Cf. TH. BIRT, *Laienurteil ueber bildende Kunst bei den Alten*, Marburg, 1902, p. 23 ff. K. BORINSKI, *Die Antike in Poetik und Kunsttheorie*, Leipzig 1914, vol. I, p. 94, made some remarks about the classical interest in physiognomy and about some of its repercussions in the Christian era.



FIG. 3. — FOLLOWER OF GIOVANNI BELLINI, about 1500. — The "living dead" Christ in the sarcophagus. Museo Poldi Pezzoli, Milan.

recognition. Damascius (about 480 A.D.) "broke into a perspiration from wonder and emotion" on beholding a statue of Aphrodite. He could scarcely tear himself away for joy, "so compelling was the beauty with which the artist has endowed it."¹⁵ The continuation of the narrative shows, however, that beauty was understood in the sense of making the soul of the goddess visible, in endowing her with "strength, vigor, the ability to defend herself, yet making her seem as if she were returning from a victory." Porphyrius had taught that such revelation of the Divine through art was relative and could be understood only by those who were moved by inspiration or learning.¹⁶ But Libanius (probably in 361 A.D.) took it for granted that the mere contemplation of images of the gods would make men wise.¹⁷

Certainly, as long as Antiquity survived, the theory that art is without deeper significance found adherents. Figurative art had begun, however, to gain recognition as an autonomous method of acquiring knowledge otherwise unobtainable. The victory became apparent, when in the V Century a pagan philosopher accepted the theory that a great artist ought to be credited with "inspiration", that is, with more than common human faculties.¹⁸ The artists, those "rude mechanicals, who work for bread", had won over the philosophers after having undermined them with the aid of the rhetoricians,¹⁹ and, possibly of Christian theologians.

There are two groups of persons who think and talk about art: those who practice it and for whom it is a direct and personal expression of their vitality and their relation to the world, and those who are merely sensitive to the creations of the members of the first group. It is surely no coincidence that the first recognition of

15. R. ASMUS, *Das Leben des Philosophen Isidoros*, Leipzig, 1911, p. 53.

16. EUSEBIUS, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, III, 7; *Patr. gr.* XXI, col. 180. ". . . those who are instructed in acquiring from images, as if they were books, knowledge of the gods". Surprisingly, EDWARD STILLINGFLEET interpreted this sentence as valuing images as books for the ignorants, *A discourse concerning the idolatry practiced in the church of Rome*, 3rd ed., London 1672.

17. *Or.* 64, *pro saltatoribus*, ed. FOERSTER IV, 495, cap. 116.

18. It was probably Isidorus of Damascus. Cf. ASMUS, *loc. cit.*, p. 74.

19. BIRT, *loc. cit.*, p. 28 claims in another connection that publications by artists may have influenced rhetoricians.

the capacities of art for visualizing the inner life of man, came through the former sculptor Socrates.²⁰ The conception was bound to develop in the studios, that art endowed its creations with the language of form, and that through adequate representation not only the outer appearance but the essence and nature of the subject could be realized.²¹ It followed from the natural logic of things that artists were compelled, at a given moment, to assert the superiority of artistic form over a mere copy of actuality.²² Their calling was concerned with visual impressions and it was imperative for them, as soon as self-consciousness awoke within their circle, to come forward as defenders of this claim by emphasizing their positive accomplishments — their ability to create mood, to make visible the otherwise unseen, and to give form to "things unknown." For example, when philosophers emphasized the fact that centaurs were anatomically impossible, artists retorted that they could, nonetheless, make them look convincing.²³ They and their followers could interpret a work of art as an autonomous approach to knowledge through creation of appropriate visible forms appealing to the emotions in contrast to any approach through reasoning.

Such Christian theologians as were in favor of a positive relationship to religious art, could accept this theory, even if they did not agree with all the arguments put forward for sustaining it. They could not accept, of course, an indiscriminate attribution of special spiritual gifts to the artists as inherent in their profession, but they could, after about 600, acknowledge them in individual cases, like the Saints who were regarded as Christian archartists such as St. Luke or Nico-



FIG. 4. — ANTONELLO DA SALIBA. — The Entombment of Christ, about 1490. — Palace of the Doges, Venice.

20. XENOPHON, *Memorab.* III, 10. Cf. BIRT, p. 15; KUELPE, *loc. cit.*, p. 109.

21. DION CHRYSOSTOM, IV, 86. "They are unable to give speech to the images, but they can embody them in appropriate figures suitable to and manifesting their nature . . ."

22. Some remarks on this development were made by P. WOLTERS, in: "Muenchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst", 1934, p. 10 ff, and by SCHWEITZER, in "Philologus", 89, p. 291.

23. Cf. e.g. LUCRETIVUS, *De rerum natura*, V, 578 ff. LUCIANUS, *Zeuxis* 3, PHILOSTRATUS, *Imag.* II, 2. The theme reappears in CENNINO CENINI's, *Libro dell' arte*, cap. 1, about 1400.



FIG. 5. — HANS BALDUNG GRIEN. — The Sacrifice, woodcut, about 1530.

demus.²⁴ They could accept the evaluation of art as a distinct and irreplaceable approach to God, or at least as the most effective way of impressing man's soul. Gregory of Nyssa (second half of the IV Century) related that he could never look at a certain picture of the Sacrifice of Abraham without being moved to tears.²⁵ Bishop Basilus of Ankara commented on this statement in 787, during the second Council of Nicaea, and added conclusively that the painted rendering of the scene had an effect on Gregory which the description in the Bible obviously did not have.²⁶ A contemporary of Gregory, Basilus the Great, willingly admitted that painted representations made a stronger impression than verbal ones.²⁷

It was a basic religious principle that Christianity does not consist of a theoretical acceptance of dogmas and facts ("our knowledge is but patchwork"), but of the possession of faith, hope, and charity — and of these, charity is the most important (I Cor. 13,13). A Christian is not the individual who knows the teachings of Christ but rather one who lives them. Conduct, therefore, ought to be determined by the desire to imitate — to become similar to Christ and the Saints. Images can help in this endeavor, as they realized something of the portrayed personalities. We find Christians and pagans agreeing about this. The ability of a portrait to make "the natural individuality of the subject clearly and distinctly apparent," as a pagan of late Antiquity put it,²⁸ could acquire unique religious significance for a Christian. For him authentic portraits of Christ, man-made and those of a miraculous origin alike, were legitimate sources of knowledge concerning Christ's human nature.²⁹

24. There is a testimony of about 1300 for the belief, that in the beginning of the church the prototypes of all images were created by Saints and that those which had originally come from Byzance were of great authority. Cf. E. NARDUCCI, *Prediche inediti del B. Giordano Rivalto*, Bologna, 1867, p. 170, 17.

25. *Or. de deitate filii et spir. s.*, *Patr. gr.* XLVI, col. 572.

26. MANSI, *S. Conciliorum collectio*, XIII, col. 10.

27. *Hom. in Barlaam mart.*, *Patr. gr.* XXXI, col. 490.

28. ASMUS, *Isidorus*, p. 54.

29. The [protestant] standard book for the theme is still: ERNST VON DOBSCHUETZ, *Christusbilder*, Leipzig, 1899. It follows a different line of research than this paper does. The statement on p. 280-281 is, in my opinion, regrettable. Surely, the certainty as to how far the laics of a Church accept its teachings is not easily obtainable. But to deny it without even an attempt at proof, does not give a solution of the question.

The union between man and God was consummated in the life of Christ. This implied a fundamental difference between all pagan and Christian religious art. If within the sphere of classical religion there was occasional belief in the visible manifestation of a god, it was merely a transient appearance of the supranatural in the earthly world. Substantially the two worlds remained separated. Since Christ, however, had lived a complete human life from birth to death, it was legitimate to represent Him in the human form, which itself had been created "in God's image."³⁰ Thus the ancient problem of how man could assume the right to depict the deity in his own image was solved. A supernatural truth can be found in the representation of Christ in human form, provided the representation be like Him, for He did reveal Himself thus in reality. In a true portrait of Christ one ought to comprehend something of His invisible divinity. St. Paul has written that in the face of Christ the knowledge of the glory of God was given to man (2 Cor. 4,6), Christ Himself being "the image of the invisible God" (Col. 1, 15; conf. Heb. 1, 3) to a degree which far surpassed ordinary mankind.

The metaphysical relationship of "subject" and "image" belongs among the most essential points of the Christian conception of the universe. If it is accepted that, according to the nature of the human mind, the supernatural is conceivable only through perceptible images, then the artistic image can be admitted as an indispensable help toward knowledge, and artistic activity can be acknowledged as a fundamental force. John of Damascus (about 675-749) formulated the theory substantially: "If because of love for man, the shapeless receives shape in accordance with our nature, why should we not outline in images that which



FIG. 6. GERMAN, about 1125. — Calvary, pen drawing. Library, Stuttgart.

30. Cf. for the beginning of the theory K. Holl, *Sitzungsberichte der K. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1916, p. 867 ff. Most medieval theologians quoted John of Damascus as their authority. To my knowledge he was the most often quoted authority in matters of images.



FIG. 7. — AUSTRIAN (?), about 1410. — Pietà, woodcut.

ing power which in reality the portrayed has, or had, in command. This power is conveyed through the very qualities of artistic form, a theory founded upon the Platonic theory of perception rather than on any implication of magic, which not even Plotinus avoided with his notion of an all-pervading sympathy which created power in the image of a god.³³

31. *De imaginibus or. I*, *Patr. gr.* XCIV, The main passage on col. 1260, similar sentences col. 1241 and al. JOHN comments on one of the fundamental passages of DIONYSIUS THE AREOPAGITE, *De divinis nominibus* I, 4 (*Patr. gr.* III, col. 592). Cf. my footnote 43.

32. Cf. ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, *In epistulam ad Colossos hom. III*, *Patr. gr.* LXII, col. 318: "The image is only then an image, and that is valid also among us [men] — when it is similar, with regard to the peculiar characteristics and the likeness [of the represented] . . ."

33. PLOTINUS, *En. IV* 3, 11; GEFKEN, *loc. cit.* p. 304. The relevant Platonic ideas to be found in *Phaedrus* and in *The Republic* have been interpreted by WALTER PATER in: *Marius the Epicurean* ch. 3, and in the lecture on *Plato's Aesthetics* in: *Plato and Platonism*.

became evident to us through shape, in a manner proper to us and with the purpose of stimulating the memory and inciting the emulation of what may be represented?"³¹ There must, however, be no arbitrariness; subject and image must be related by similarity.³² Then, living reality and lifeless image agree in form, and the image conveys some knowledge of the very essence of the portrayed. It imparts something of the liv-



FIG. 8. — ENGLISH, about 1490. — Pietà as one of the Weapons of Christ, woodcut.

In the opinion of the defenders of images, the enhancement of spiritual life, and the strong emotion aroused in the soul by visual representations, lead to a striving toward emulation.³⁴ Perception was believed to reach beyond emotion and to become a stimulant to the will. Images were supposed to make men better; active sanctification stands in the stead of the modern passive emotion of being "uplifted." Contemplation of images should bring about actual performance of good works and the will to endure suffering. Thus the Patriarch Germanus of Constantinople, about 720, defined the purpose of painting.³⁵ The Second Nicene Council declared that pictures of the saints were painted in order that the spectator might participate in a certain feeling of holiness as a final result of contemplation.³⁶ Not the bodily appearance of the saints, but their saintly virtues are to be brought to consciousness, said Germanus.³⁷ These were supposed to work upon the spectator and hallow him.³⁸

This concept of an active emotional power enshrined in a religious picture had led Gregory the Great, about 600, to call it a source of "instruction" for those who could not read the Scriptures. Gregory had in mind the spiritualizing and moralizing influence of the Bible as well as of the pictures. He ardently desired girls to read the Bible for the very reason, "that you may know how to order your life and conduct your household when God Almighty will unite you to husbands."³⁹ On the other hand, the polemical sarcasm



FIG. 9. — ALBRECHT DÜRER. — The "living dead" Christ under the Cross, engraving, about 1500.

34. K. SCHWARZLOSE, *Der Bilderstreit*, Gotha 1890, p. 161 ff.

35. MANSI, XIII, col. 103, St. Nilus (died 430) expressed in his often quoted letter 4 (*Patr. gr. LXXIX*, col. 577 ff) basically the same opinion. The classical counterpart is told by the anecdote of the Athenian courtesan who became a paragon of temperance through the influence of the portrait of a philosopher.

36. "... as one can through the ... painted representation be lifted up to the recollection and the memory of the represented and to a share in a certain degree of sanctification". MANSI, XIII, col. 131.

37. *Ibid.*, col. 101.

38. JOHN DAMASCENUS, *Patr. gr. XCIV*, col. 1268: "The images ... instruct the spectators in soundless voice and sanctify the sight". He calls the effects *loc. cit.* XCV, col. 313: "recollection and love and right conduct of life".

39. *Ep. XI*, 78 (*Patr. lat. LXXVII*, col. 1219 ff.).

with which St. Augustine rebuffed those, who considered artistic representations as a source of factual information, must have been well known to Gregory. It served such people right, Augustine declared, if they were deceived.⁴⁰

In connection with the theory of art in his time, Pope Gregory's concern for doctrinal instruction through works of art could only be secondary. His primary interest was centered only in the emotional and spiritual powers of art. He shared the belief that art was capable of a specific effect upon every beholder, an effect independent of his intellectual culture, but inseparably connected with artistic representation. He believed that the contemplation of representations of an occurrence, or of a person, could stir the emotions also of those who did not have an intellectual understanding of the subject matter; that the spiritual life would, nonetheless, be quickened and guided in the right direction.⁴¹ In the mind of the Pope, when "the uninformed" see "that which has occurred," they experience the actions or sufferings



FIG. 10. — RHENISH, 1306. — Pall cross. — Sta. Maria im Kapitol, Cologne.

40. *De consensu Evangel.*, lib. I, cap. 9 ff. St. Augustine saw no objection to representations of Christ with St. Peter and St. Paul, although the latter never met the Lord. However: "They have deserved to be mistaken who have searched Christ and His apostles not in the Holy Scriptures but on painted walls: small wonder that speculating [instead of studying] they have been deceived by the painters". (cap. 10, 16, *Patr. lat.* XXXIV, col. 1049). Archbishop Agobard of Lyons (died 840) quoted this sentence as a proof of an alleged hostility of Augustine to images (*Opp.* ed. STEPH. BALUZIUS, Parisiis, 1666, I, 254). But it has a different connection. Augustine did not attribute the task of intellectual teaching to art, but he approved of its following its own nature which he seems to have considered as confined to decoration. Otherwise, St. Augustine remains conspicuously silent concerning the new approach to art. In his relation to music he could not understand himself (*Conf.* X, 33); his intellect could not rule the emotions caused by music. Music had an immediate effect upon him — Art evidently had not. — Comp. E. BEVAN, *Holy images*, London 1940, p. 120 ff.

41. *Ep.* XI, 13: "... a painting ... in it also the uninformed see what they should emulate ... that the vision of the event create in them a strong emotion ...". *Ep.* IX, 52: "... that by seeing a picture of Him, your heart may be set afire with love of Him Whose image you desire to see ...". It should be a matter of course to think of Pope Gregory as a man of the highest possible standards of education and thought of his time. That art begins only above a certain level of quality was then well known. It could have been said of Gregory, what Bishop Nikephorus of Dyrrachion said about Asterius during the Second Nicene Council: "Through his skill the painter always attributes reality to the events ... therefore the Father praises with this (story) also the (specific) art of painting". MANSI, XIII, col. 20.

in empathy. Pope Hadrian I has indicated the context in which the ideas of Gregory the Great belong, in the following interpretation of those ideas: "... holy images . . . are honored in order that our mind, through the visible external form, might be transported to the invisible glory of God through the spiritual emotion produced by contemplation of the likeness of the body which the Son of God accepted for our salvation."⁴² In his reply to the *Libri Carolini*, Pope Hadrian concurred in the teaching that images were capable of arousing supernatural thoughts and feelings.⁴³

The Patriarch Germanus had acknowledged that, since the nature of man is determined by his physical entity, the spiritual was more firmly established through the visual, at least for those who were unable to attain the highest spiritual contemplation without assistance.⁴⁴ This referred to the vast majority of mankind. For John of Damascus it was a matter of indifference whether an object be presented to the mind by means of words or by perception of its form through an image.⁴⁵ He wrote, however, most beautifully on the manner in which a work of art lifts the soul directly to God without recourse to the intellect.⁴⁶

The more emotionally effective art can be — instead of being merely illustrative — the better can artists make their points of view prevail. It is not to be taken for granted that Christian artists ever allowed themselves to be completely silenced. This seems less probable if doubt were cast upon their right to practice



FIG. 11. — EAST GERMAN, about 1390. — *Vierge ouvrante*. — Cluny Museum, Paris.

42. *Mon. Germ. Epist.* V, 56. MANSI, XII, col. 1061 ff.

43. *Mon. Germ. Epist.* V, 32. Pope Hadrian I made the statement orally in 769 (cf. K. HAMPE, *Mon. Germ. Concilia*, II, 1, p. 91). He quoted DIONYSIUS THE AREOPAGITE, *De coelesti hierarchia*, cap. I, 3 (*Patr. gr.* III, col. 124). DIONYSIUS himself dealt with the symbolic meaning of the sensible world, but for the Middle Ages the broadening of the meaning to cover all kinds of creation was a matter of course.

44. MANSI XIII, col. 101: "Intermingled with flesh and blood (as we are) we establish certainty concerning matters of the soul also through sight". Col. 116: "To represent in images the nature of God's human body, serves as a certain help to those who are unable to rise (from their own) to the height of the spiritual vision . . ." Col. 113: "The represented shape of His figure becomes . . . the principal guidance . . . in the picture".

45. *De imag. or. I.*, *Patr. gr.* XCIV, col. 1248.

46. *Ibid.* col. 1268: "I enter . . . the church . . . the brilliancy of the painting draws me to beholding and delights the sight like a flowery pasture, and imperceptibly it brings to the soul a vision of God".

their art, and if clerics belonged to their circle. Artists must have discussed the specific value of art, and the author believes that vague traces of the diffusion of such studio discussions can be found.

The Patriarch Nicephorus in Constantinople (about 758-829) puts his definition of the two types of works of art, classified according to the existence or non-existence of their subject matter, into the mouth of an artist speaking to a group of his colleagues:⁴⁷ "The representation of an actuality is related to the subject represented through similarity. Even though the two are different in substance, they are essentially connected. The image imparts the knowledge of the original nature of the subject, and one sees in it the subject as really existing. Images reveal the subjects by creating their presence."⁴⁸ Since vision leads to knowledge more forcefully (literally, more swiftly) than hearing, and since it is more impressive through the actual presence which allows for no misunderstanding, it is often possible for vision to convey a meaning more clearly than words".⁴⁹ To find these statements put into the mouth of an artist is all the more remarkable, since they were a summary of the very teachings of the theologians. But that artists shared in these discussions may be discerned from the arguments themselves, inasmuch as they were founded on empirical and psychological factors rather than on theological thoughts. The outburst of Rabanus Maurus in his Poem 38 — surpassing even the *Libri Carolini* in his accusation that painting distorts the true meaning of the subject matter — might reflect the angry mood of a theologian about the interference of unwanted competitors.

We cannot, and need not, here investigate the development of the theological doctrine of man's capacity for metaphysical knowledge based on "image" relationship. We need only be aware that the evaluation of figurative art as a quality in religious life unrivalled by words, had its counterpart in a relativistic evaluation of human language. The writings of Hugo of St. Victor (1096-1141) point to the direction in which the pendulum had swung. In his opinion, words are made only by man; their meaning is established by arbitrary convention. Hence, for an understanding of the Holy Scriptures, the wordless manifestations of the essence of creation are much more important than the words in which they have been formulated

47. *Antirrheticus*, I, 28; *Patr. gr.* C, col. 277. The borderline does not run between the realms of the ideas and of the visible, but of the materially or metaphysically real and of the mere imagination. This was evidently an Epicurean doctrine, cf. LUCRETIUS, *De rerum natura* IV, 722. F. A. GASQUET, *The eve of the reformation*, London 1919, p. 258 and 268, quotes relevant late medieval references.

48. *Antirr.* I, 30; III, 5 *Loc. cit.*, col. 280, 381 ff.

49. *Ibid.* III, 3 (col. 380 ff.). — Already St. Augustine following a Platonic idea, had given to the eye the first place among the senses (*Conf.* X, 35; cf. also *sermo* 112, VI, 7). This statement is indirectly well known to art historians by a phrase of Albrecht Durer. It is not known where he picked up this thought which was, after all, a common one. A Franciscan stated about 1428 that sight is "*eindrucksvoller, edler, staerker als das Gehoer*" (C. F. ARNOLD, *Geschichtliche Studien fuer Albert Hauck*, Leipzig 1916, p. 200). The most astonishing fruit of this tree was the conception of Richard Wagner (*Das Kunstwerk der Zukunft*, 1849), that all art remains unsatisfying and unsatisfied unless it appeals to the eyes; cf. ERNEST NEWMAN, *Richard Wagner*, New York 1941, p. 187 ff.

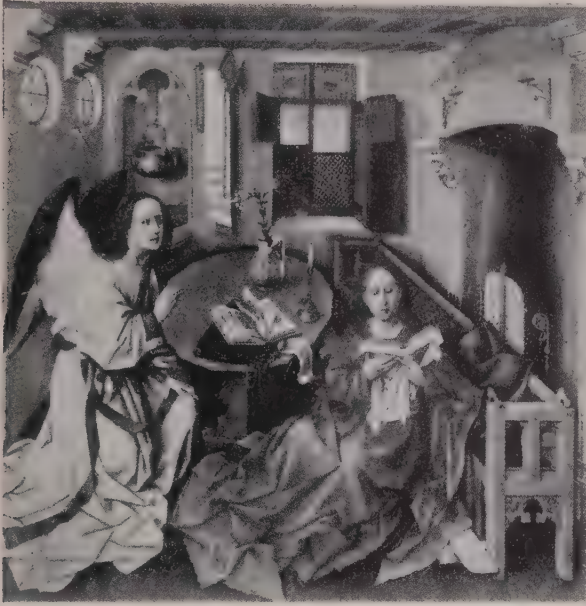


FIG. 12. — MASTER OF FLEMALLE. — Annunciation, about 1428. — Count Mérode Collection, Westerlo, Belgium.

out of wordless visions, produced in the beholder the desired impressions without words. If words were not exempt from misunderstanding and needed explanation, they had no basic advantage over pictures.

For the Christian conception of the world, earthly reality had long outgrown the limitations of visible appearance. Potentially all non-divine reality was deprived of stable significance; it could mean what the perceptive powers of man saw in it, or it could be a symbol of one or more realities in the actual, or in the transcendental world. "Lion" might mean the animal itself, or Christ, or the Devil.⁵⁰ Had not Christ Himself said (Mark IV, 11, 12; conf. Matth. XIII, 13): "Unto you it is given to know the mystery of the kingdom of God, but unto them that are without, all things are done in parables, that seeing they may see and not perceive, and hearing they may hear, and not understand . . ." If words, objects, and events lose their "evident" meaning, then the relationship to actuality must thereby become fluid.

50. *De scripturis et escriptoribus sacris*, cap. 14: "The philosopher (Aristotle) knew only of the meaning of the words in his books; but in the holy Scriptures the meaning of the things is much more important than that of words, because the latter is only customary, but the former is ordered by nature. The latter is the language of man, the former that of God addressed to man. The meaning of the words is man-made, the things have their meaning from nature and by the act of God who wished some things to be meant by others. The meaning of things is also much more multiple than that of words. Because few words have more than two or three meanings, but every thing may mean as many other things, as it has visible or invisible qualities in common with other things". (*Patr. lat.* CLXXV, col. 20 ff.)

51. *Summa Theologica* I qu. I. a. X.

52. I am taking the example from the treatise of JONAS quoted in the following note 53, col. 358, but he did not mention the literal meaning of the word.

by man, since all their visible and invisible qualities must be taken into account.⁵⁰ Of course, a principle of biblical hermeneutics was here established. Yet it sets up a hierarchy of expressive media, in which speech is secondary to knowledge acquired without words as intermediaries. One need only contrast this devaluation of words with St. Thomas Aquinas' formula that the Bible "is" God's word. According to the will of God, however, that which is referred to by a word, may have significance beyond the verbal aspect.⁵¹ But however subject to theological criticism Hugo's theory might be, it was a challenge for art lovers to emphasize that art, conceived

One of the most complex problems of Christian religious art was posed by the Crucifix, which became one of the focal points of the iconoclastic controversy. This subject could reasonably be interpreted by the spectator in one way — someone was dying, or had died on the cross. As Bishop Claudius of Turin (818-827) wrote, it tells us only “that he died and continually suffers.”⁵³ But Christians had to be prepared to experience the living God in the dying or dead human body; to experience the transcendental Truth in spite of the material disguise.

I cannot state exactly when the last phase of the evolution was reached in which the assertion could be made quite frankly that religious art needed freedom in visualizing the truth, or even freedom from truth itself, and that a theological adversary would judge such assertions “almost rational.” But, at least since the beginning of the XIII Century, the claim of an autonomous relation between the artistic representation and subject matter could be defended even without pretension to spiritual significance other than an emotional one. About 1230 Bishop Luke of Tuy in Spain furnished proof for that.⁵⁴ “Since the aim of religious art is to arouse the emotions of the spectator, the artist must have liberty to compose his works, so as to assure to them the greatest effectiveness. The representation should not always be forced into traditional patterns. In order to avoid the dullness of accustomed formulas, the artist needs freedom to devise unusual motifs and to invent new ideas as they seem appropriate to him with respect to the location of the work of art and to his period, even if they contradict the literal truth and only serve to deepen love for Christ through the emotion they arouse.” The formulation was that of a foe of such freedom, but what he relates is written testimony coinciding with a practice,

53. Quoted by JONAS OF ORLÉANS, *De cultu imaginum*, lib. I; *Patr. lat.* CVI, col. 334.

54. The statement is a part of the polemics of Luke against a new kind of representation of the Crucified (*De altera vita* lib. II, cap. 9; *Bibliotheca maxima veterum patrum*, vol. 25, Lyons 1677, p. 222 — misprinted 122). He accuses the Albigenses of using artistic representations as a part of their propaganda. “*Alius mediantibus picturis est haereticis modus decipiendi. . . Depingunt plerumque deformes sanctorum imagines, ut earum intuitu devotio simplicis Christiani populi vertatur in taedium. In deris(i)um etiam et opprobrium crucis Christi imaginem crucifixi unum pedem super illum uno clavo figentes. . .*” “Another means used by the heretics to deceive the people are paintings. . . They paint mostly distorted pictures of the Saints, that the aspect may transform the devotion of the plain Christian people into disgust. As a mockery and as an insult of the Cross they represent the crucified Christ with one foot above the other and pierced by one nail. . .” He puts a defense of such crucifix into the mouth of a heretic or an artist, in analogy to the “*haereticus seu pictor*” he addresses in cap. 9. “*Sed dicat aliquis, ad hoc uno pede super alio uno clavo dicimus Dominum crucifixum, et consuetudines Ecclesiae volumus immutari, ut maiori acerbitate passionis Christi populi devotio excitetur et novitate in consuetudinibus succedente fastidium relevetur. Non enim sunt ista de Sacramentorum substantia, vel articulorum fide. . . Sufficit ad salutem Christum credere crucifixum et pro indifferenti habere in cruce illum quatuor vel trium brachiorum fuisse positum, quatuor vel tribus clavis confixum. . . Etiam aliqua fingenda sunt pro loco et tempore, quamvis vera non sint, ut Christi nominis gloria dilatetur. Haec et huius modi illis quasi rationabiliter asserentibus. . .*” “But somebody may state we report the Lord was crucified with one foot over the other, pierced by a single nail, and we wish to change the practice of the Church, so that we may be able to excite the devotion of the people by the greater intensity of the passion of Christ and to prevent boredom by replacing the customs of long standing by something new. Because they do belong neither to the Sacraments, nor to the articles of Faith . . . It suffices for the salvation to believe that Christ has been crucified and to believe it immaterial whether he was put on a Cross with four or with three arms, whether he was pierced by four or three nails. . . Even motifs may be represented in accordance with the demands of the place and the period although they be untrue, with the purpose of divulging the glory of Christ's name. That and suchlike they say so that it seems almost rational”.



FIG. 13. — MICHELANGELO. — Calvary, drawing, about 1540.—
Louvre, Paris.

the painted and sculptured evidence for which is abundant. If the ear has been tuned to the key, the polemic against what was termed the lies of art, against its lack of dogmatic correctness, and against its pose as an independent instructor, can be recognized in other verbal formulations. The following quotation is taken from a sermon of an English priest of the late XIV Century:⁵⁵ "We see that painting, if it be true, without a mixture of lies, and not too eager at abundant feeding of men's wits, and not an occasion of idolatry for the people, serves but to read the truth, as naked letters to a scholar."

Even if Bishop Luke had invented the argumentation against which he himself argues, it would not lose its importance for our context because he termed it "almost rational." He discussed at some length the reason why images were shown in the Church (II, 2); they acted as a charm in some cases, and served merely as decoration in others. But he expected of a work of art emotional appeal, and influence on the spiritual life of the spectator. In that expectation he did not differ from the artists. But referring to Job (13, 7) he did not approve of deviations from the truth, and as so many others have done or are doing, he asked for beauty in art, but acknowledged it only in the traditional style, to which he was used, and not in the trends of contemporary art. Artists could not be impressed by such esthetic standards and could not be blamed if they found his demand for literal truth in art not strongly supported. "Naked was Christ fixed to the cross; correspondingly in naked truth the believers have to proclaim Him," exclaimed Luke (II, 10). To this the artist might well have replied: "My lord, you would be the first one to eject from the churches representations showing Him crucified naked — as history and doctrine have Him. If deviations from truth are right for reasons of decency, are they not similarly right for stimuli to devotion?"

Ancient artists did not ask for so much independence from reality. But Eratosthenes, in the III Century B.C., freed poetry from all didactic function, or any

55. J. HALLIWELL-PHILLIPS, *Reliquiae antiquae*, London, 1893, II p. 42 ff. I am indebted to CLAUDE M. SIMPSON JR., of Harvard University, for his help in rendering the sentence in modern English.

connection with Being, and saw its essence exclusively in the stimulation of emotions.⁵⁶ Similarly, Philodemus (I Century B.C.) gave poetry autonomy in dealing with its subject matters.⁵⁷ Horace (*Ars Poetica* 9ff.), however, allowed the same freedom to artists as to poets, in a phrase which has become the very charter of emancipation for artists and which was cited by Bishop Durand of Mende (about 1290), as if in acknowledgement of such authority:⁵⁸ "But different stories of the Old and the New Testaments are also painted according to the will of the painters because

. . . *pictoribus atque poetis*
Quidlibet audendi semper fuit aequa potestas!"

Bishop Durand did not concern himself with the liberty of the artist as such, but only with his renditions of biblical incidents. Nevertheless, his quotation could not but be interpreted as paying respect to the independence of art, especially as he felt no need of adding the slightest qualification.

Theology still adhered to both theories which left room for an intrinsic value of religious art. Its unique emotional value was acknowledged. Works of art, in the formulation of St. Thomas Aquinas (of 1255), are proper means of deepening piety, since it is aroused more by visual than by auditory impressions.⁵⁹ Bishop Durand gave as the reason why this is so: "an event is put before the eyes by a painting, but [only abstractly] recalled to mind by hearing which impresses the mind less than seeing."⁶⁰ That is the old argument about the greater impressiveness of things seen, which has been repeated over and over again.⁶¹ The second theory had indirectly a bearing on the evaluation of art. It was held, into the XVI Century at least, that the human mind is capable of approaching the supernatural with the aid of "visible" things whether imagined or real.⁶² "The proper object of the human intellect is a quiddity or nature existing in corporeal matter, and through such nature of visible things, it rises also to a certain knowledge of the things invisible," formu-

56. H. MUTSCHMANN, in: "Hermes", 52, 1917, p. 190 ff.

57. A. ROSTAGNI in: "Atene e Roma", N.S., 1920, p. 55.

58. *Rationale divinatorum officiorum* I, 3 n. 22. (Cf. e.g. DIDRON, *Manuel d'iconographie chrétienne*, Paris, 1845, p. VII) *Pictoribus atque poetis semper fuit et erit equa potestas* served as a motto for the book of drawings of a pupil of Benozzo Gozzoli, cf. "Old Master drawings", 4, 1929-1930, p. 53.

59. *Scriptum sup. sent.* III. dist. 9. qu. 1. a. 2, sol. 2.

60. *Loc. cit.* 1, 3 no. 1, 4. The priest John who represented the three Sees of Alexandria, Antiochia, and Jerusalem at the second Nicene Council formulated: "... stronger than the word is the image, and it is so by the providence of God for the benefit of uninstructed men". MANSI, XIII, col. 20.

61. E.g. the influential *Summa*, cap. V of the Dominican Rainerius of Pisa (died 1348) taught the same as St. Thomas; similarly that of JEAN GERSON (1362-1428), Venice, 1587, fol. 30 r.

62. Conf. for the level of devotional practices: JOHANNES MAUBURNUS, *Rosetum exercitiorum spiritualium*, Douai 1620, p. 411. MAUBURNUS, a Dutch Augustinian, died in 1501. His book was first printed in 1494.

lated St. Thomas.⁶³ Because the supernatural cannot be comprehended by man "without the cloak of any extraneous shape,"⁶⁴ artists got their chance. They could claim that striving to visualize the inexpressible and the incomprehensible was a task beyond the limits of theology which itself is confined to the use of words. Every definition is a limitation, as the old saying goes. Even theologians like Thomas Netter (Waldensis, died in 1430), whose teachings about images would not lend themselves to use in our context, defends the freedom of art to visualize what we are trying to define by words.⁶⁵ Theologians, of course, continue to speculate about the necessity of "similarity" in images,⁶⁶ but this had very little effect on western medieval art. As a matter of fact, it has always been up to the artist to determine what he understood by "similarity." Moreover, the general understanding of "similarity" is not the same in all periods. Certainly, in Medieval Times similarity could be constituted by a similarity of the ideas underlying quite different realizations. Such notion lacked the restricting power on an art which believed in its right to transform actuality in accordance with artistic necessities.

Of course, there were members of the clergy who sensed a danger in works of art, because they might detract from purity of belief, if, instead of arousing emotional response, they were accepted as the equivalence of actuality. Nevertheless, in general, the ecclesiastical authorities seem to have avoided open conflict with the artists, although they evidently held them exclusively responsible for their representations. If art had been not only "under steady control, but under the supreme rule of the clergy,"⁶⁷ then one should expect that those clergymen, who exhibited dogmatically incorrect works of art, would be blamed rather than those, who allegedly executed only what they had been told. But in



FIG. 14. — MASTER OF FLEMALLE. — The Trinity, about 1450. — Städel Institute, Frankfurt A. M.

63. *Summa*, I, qu.84. a.7. The quotation follows closely the translation made by Fathers of the English Dominican province, 2nd ed. London, 1922. The statement belongs in a discussion of logic. It does not seem to be generally realized that ST. THOMAS wrote few sentences referring directly to art. In speaking about "ars" he did not mean art, but every craft and profession; he did not have in mind the specific characteristics of art, but those which it shares with the making of ploughs, the baking of bread, or the performing of surgical operations. Those characteristics cannot have been the most important ones of art for Thomas.

64. ST. THOMAS, *Summa*, IIa, IIae. qu. 174 art. 2.

65. NETTER discusses the representations of the Trinity; *De sacramentalibus*. Tit. XIX, cap. 155.

66. Also for ST. THOMAS *similitudo* was the very essence of *imago*; cf. *Summa* I, qu.93. a.II.2. It has become common knowledge that MAX DVORÁK treated his literary sources for *Idealismus und Realismus in der gotischen Kunst*, Munich, 1918, in a most unfortunate manner. This is also true of his page 35.

67. PAUL KEPPLER, who became a Roman Catholic Bishop in Wurtemberg, in: "Goerresgesellschaft, Historisches Jahrbuch", IV, 1883, p. 183.

reality the artists had to take the blame, which was equivalent to an ill-humored acknowledgment of the autonomy they had gained. St. Antoninus, Archbishop of Florence (1389-1459) wrote quite explicitly: "... the painters are to blame when they paint what contradicts the Faith."⁶⁸ He quoted among such contradictions the *Annunciations* showing the Child. Bishop Luke of Tuy did not blame the priests who set up the "distorted" images on account of their appeal to the people, but he blamed the artists for making them (II, 9). He, like Bishop Radulph of London in 1306,⁶⁹ saw in the yoked or Pall crosses with obliquely rising arms, the arbitrary inventions of artists (Fig. 10). The bishops charged them with lack of understanding of the mystical meaning of the traditional cross. They did not connect the Pall cross with the Tree of Life as one is wont to do today, in spite of the fact that this association cannot explain the oblique direction of the cross-arms.⁷⁰ Bishop Luke's polemics are about as early as the earliest examples of such crosses known. He ought to know whether or not they represented an invention of theologians. The more vertical the arms of Christ, the more strained they seem. On account of this expressive value, the motif of the oblique cross-arms has been used by artists now and then; but it seems not to have become part of a settled iconographical tradition.

These are proofs of a disciplinarian attitude — by no means the preponderant one. In a disputation between a Dominican and a Franciscan, about 1428, among the subjects discussed, was the freedom of artists.⁷¹ The Dominican stated somewhat fantastically, "nobody is allowed to invent new and individual representations for the devotion of the common people without the consent of the Roman Pontiff..." The Franciscan replied rightly, "that [procedure] has not been necessary formerly, nor is it evidently necessary to-day." He proves this by telling of a painter who came from Nuremberg to Breslau and who invented many formerly unknown representations of Christ, the Virgin, and the Saints, without interference by the ecclesiastical authority.

The lenient attitude of the Church is even more strikingly apparent in a sermon of Jean Gerson, about 1400, because the words were spoken in a critical mood.⁷² Images are made "for no other reason than for showing the plain people who are

68. *Summa* III, tit. 8 cap. 4 §11.

69. R. C. FOWLER, *Registrum Radolphi Waldock; The Canterbury and York Society*, London, 1841, p. 19. (I believe that one ought to read "*in patibulo sine ligno transversali*"). The bishop prevented the use of this type of cross in his diocese. The sculptor was a German.

70. Conf. e.g. KUENSTLE, *loc. cit.*, I, pp. 468 ff. (No distinction is made there between the Pall cross, the cross in the traditional manner made of branches, and the tree of life or the tree of the Cross). The oldest examples of the Pall cross known at present are those of the workshop of Bonaventura Berlinghieri, in Lucca. The most characteristic one is shown on the Easter candelabrum in Gaëta, where the rough cross is made from two planks (cf. E. VAVALÀ, *La Croce dipinta Italiana*, Verona 1929, fig. 458, p. 714 and fig. 25). The most important visual evidence for the transplantation of the independently developed Pall cross scheme into the tree scheme is the rosebush reliquary in S. Francesco in Lucignano, about 1350.

71. Comp. my footnote 49.

72. *Opera Omnia*, Anvers 1706, vol. II. col. 947.

ignorant of the Scriptures, what they must believe. Therefore, one must prevent acceptance as true, of any untrue representation which expounds the Scriptures incorrectly.” Gerson says that this statement, the first sentence of which contradicts his *Summa*,⁷³ was partly prompted by a *Vierge Ouvrante* in the church of the Carmelites in Paris (Fig. 11). This representation was decidedly anti-dogmatic because it visualized the Trinity as incarnate. One should have expected such representations to have been unacceptable *ipso facto* for the Carmelites as well as for Gerson. But the Carmelites saw no objection to showing this “Mother of God,”

⁷³. Compare my footnote 61.



FIG. 15. — NUREMBERG, about 1350. — *The Weapons of Christ*. — Germanic Museum, Nuremberg.

and Gerson himself felt the need for further explanation of his repudiation: "And I do not see why such works are made. Because, in my opinion, they lack any beauty, nor are they devout, but they may cause erroneous faith and lack of devotion". Apparently, beauty and devoutness outweighed dogmatic correctness even for Gerson. He — as for that matter did the Carmelites — left it to the priests to make sure that the dogmatic beliefs were upheld despite anti-dogmatic representations.

The conception of an independent emotional value of art was so deeply rooted in theologians that even a Martin Luther approved of the *Annunciation* showing the Child carrying the cross (Fig. 12). He did so out of regard for the plain people and prompted by Isaia 9, 6.⁷⁴ But for a "plain" contemporary of Luther, the representation could hardly mean anything else but that "God" was suffering or conscious of his coming sufferings before the incarnation. Both concepts had become popular since the second half of the XV Century and the verse of the Scriptures to be quoted were: *Judges* 13, 7, and *Revelat.* XXII, 12. Only the learned Protestant would associate the visual impression with the verse from Isaia, a verse, which art had visualized in several ways, but always according to the verse, showing the Child after birth. Luther raised no objection to the heretical concept of the representation, and he expected its true meaning to be understood without being visualized.

In spite of the renewed iconoclastic controversies, the decisions of the twenty-fifth session of the Council of Trent in 1563 did not peremptorily curtail the independence of art in dealing with actuality in its own way. They even tried to limit interference by the authorities of the Church to whom fell the application of the decisions. Only the display of images apt to cause "dangerous errors" by the uneducated, was forbidden. A representation could not be repudiated merely because it could cause a dogmatic error; the error had to be dangerous. Furthermore, the Council forbade the display of "unusual" images without the approbation of the Ordinary. But its ruling referred only to the future; nothing was said against earlier images. Johannes Molanus, the author of what became a standard theological book on religious art, interpreted this silence as proof that none of the existing images in churches were dangerous;⁷⁵ that no one would be induced to error by them; but if some were so induced then this error should be corrected by teaching (II, 25). He was against rash repudiation of images which had been accepted by common consent, or which were born out of popular devotion (II, 30). He contended that no single person had the right to prohibit any older image, that right belonging only to the Church (II, 24). He defended, however, the right of theologians to judge dogmatic correctness in art (II, 26), and he advised instruction of artists so that they might avoid grave and striking errors (II, 28). For what was

74. *Auslegung der Evangelien*, Wittenberg, 1532, vol. II, fol. XXVIII v.

75. First edition: *De Picturis et Imaginibus sacris*, Louvain 1570; second edition with the title: *De historiae SS. imaginum*, edited by H. CWYCKINS, Louvain 1594; third edition, edited by J. N. PAQUOT, Louvain 1771.

forbidden in print, was also forbidden in images, because even scholars were often influenced by images. Horace's verse was not valid for religious art and it always required the qualification that nothing obscene was shown (II, 2). The lenient attitude of Molanus was prompted by the desire to avoid anything which could be detrimental to piety, by severing the connection with accustomed types of representations. Molanus, a theologian addressing himself to theologians, was influenced by considerations for the care of the soul, rather than by those of art.⁷⁶ But even after Trent, mere esthetic considerations could carry weight against truth. The Jesuit Francesco Suarez (1548 to 1617) called it a mistake of painters to represent Mary fainting during the Deposition. "But maybe they did not want to express differently the extreme suffering in an image."⁷⁷ Fainting may seem more acceptable esthetically than facial contortions.

At present not much is known about Christian iconography after the firm establishment of the Protestant Churches had changed the climate in which the Roman Catholic Church had to live. But I do not believe myself mistaken in holding that boldness and inventiveness of new motifs, united with the retention of old, unorthodox ones, became relegated to the sphere of devotional imagery, whereas in general, so-called high art became cautious and conventional in the interpretation of religious themes. The chasm began to open during the lifetimes of Michelangelo (1475-1564) and Rubens (1577-1640). If any artist could have hung Christ on a Pall cross, then it would have been Rubens, but in his spiritual world there was no room for an unorthodox type. On the other hand, Michelangelo did not feel restrained from using such forms of the yoked cross as suited him (Fig. 13).⁷⁸

The first "untrue" representation lost in this chasm seems to have been the *Mass of St. Gregory*. Of enormous popularity during the XV and early XVI Centuries, it had become obsolete by about 1550. The theologians did not object to it. Nonetheless, it died, probably because it was realized that the representation was not supported by a generally accepted legend. The early biographies of the Pope do not report that an apparition of Christ appeared to Gregory the Great, but in the XIV Century it was believed that the "image of the Crucified" appeared to the Pope while officiating in Sta. Prisca.⁷⁹ No corresponding artistic representation seems to be known, and we may doubt whether this legend ever became deeply rooted. Molanus (III, 9) knew of a variation which he stated to be very popular in Rome during his time. The *Imago pietatis*, the now so-called *Gregorian man of sorrows*, was said to have appeared to the Pope. In this variation Molanus saw the

76. The need of representations to round out a story is acknowledged in II, 19.

77. *Commentaria . . . in tertiam partem D. Thomae*; quaest. XLVI. art. VIII, disput. XXXV, sect. III, 11 (*Opp.* vol. 19, Paris 1866, p. 692).

78. The relevant works were listed by H. THODE, Michelangelo, vol. III, 2, Berlin 1912, p. 682.

79. *Mirabiliae Romae*; ed. PARTHEY, Berlin 1869, p. 61.

artists' source of inspiration.⁸⁰ There are representations of the *Mass of St. Gregory* which show the Lord, in whatever form, appearing alone, and there are some which do not even show Him.⁸¹ But the earliest known representations dating from about 1400 show the unabridged version, *Christ in the midst of His weapons*.⁸² The corresponding legend was fixed at about the same time in the Benedictine abbey of Andechs, near Munich.⁸³ It is probably there, between 1389 and 1393, that the Papal legat in Germany, John of Gubbio, learned about this legend and amalgamated it with the Roman traditions.⁸⁴ According to him, the miracle occurred during a mass in honor of a visiting Spanish queen, held in Sta. Croce, in Rome.

It cannot as yet be proved that the "Andechs" legend originated from a pictorial representation. But it can be assumed that the source for the images did not lie in this tradition. Even if none of them had been created before 1395, it is improbable that the new legend could have spread so quickly to such different regions as France and the Grisons, and without leaving any trace in literary sources. The evidence points to a French inventor of the new artistic theme.

I believe that a comparison of the *Weapons of Christ* (Fig. 15) with the *Mass of St. Gregory* (Fig. 16) would help us to recognize what really happened. In my opinion it does not matter that the first painting dates from about 1350 while the other is from about 1510. Often the developmental fulfillment of a trend is even more evident and emphatic than are the initial phases. What happened was that artists wanted to give a visual explanation to the agglomeration of the Weapons. What explanation could have been more appropriate than that of a supernatural apparition? The painting in Augsburg is a representative of the last phase of the development which, though showing the Weapons, reserved for Christ alone the miraculous apparition. It is characteristic of many representations, in that it emphasizes the Pope's inability to see visions. Such representations are in reality those of the transcendental repetition of the Sacrifice during the mass. In Spain, even the representation of Doomsday could be combined with the mass of the Pope — a visualization of the importance of the mass in general, without apparent connection with any event mentioned in the Pope's biographies.⁸⁵ On the other hand, many

80. This derivation has been widely accepted. Comp. e.g. E. MÂLE, *L'art rel. de la fin du moyen âge en France*, Paris, 1908, p. 91 ff. J. A. ENDRES in *Zeitschrift fuer christliche Kunst*, 30, 1917, p. 146 ff. KUENSTLE, *loc. cit.*, p. 486 ff. — The value of all existing discussions of our theme, however learned and meritorious their authors, is impaired by the erroneous presupposition of a single definite subject for all representations. Even FATHER JOSEPH BRAUN, *Der christl. Altar*, Munich 1924, vol. 2, p. 453 ff, accepted the presupposition.

81. E.g. Brit. Mus. Add. Ms. 11866 (c. 1500), fol. 156 vo.

82. *Cod. Vindob. 1840* (*Kunst und Kunsthandwerk*, 5, 1902, p. 303. B. MARTENS, *Meister Francke*, Hamburg 1929, note 260); *ms. lat. Par. 18026* (MÂLE, *loc. cit.*, p. 94). Castle Rhaezuens (R. BORRMANN, *Aufnahmen mittelalterl. Wand- und Deckenmalereien in Deutschland*, I. 1.)

83. R. BAUERREISS, in: *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Gesch. des Benediktiner-Ordens*, 44, 1926, p. 75; 47, 1929, p. 66. He dated the entry in *cod. lat. Mon. 3005*: "begin of the XIV century". A. BRACKMANN, in: *Abhandlungen der preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaften*, 1929, No. 5, p. 5, is, in my opinion, correctly dated "about 1400".

84. BAUERREISS, *loc. cit.*, 44, p. 75 ff. BRACKMANN, *loc. cit.*, p. 24 ff.

85. C. R. POST, *History of Spanish Painting*, vol. VI, 2 (1935), fig. 179, ff.

representations emphasize that the apparition occurred after the end of the mass.⁸⁶ For others the theme consisted of the veneration of the Sacrifice, not of the representation of a specific mass or of a miraculous apparition of the Weapons.⁸⁷ The fact is that the theme of the *Mass of St. Gregory* was never governed by any definite subject-matter. There was always ample room for subjective predilection. The reverence for salvation and the gain of indulgences were the important things for those who prayed before the image. Specific details could be left to the artists. Up until now, no one has been able to explain cogently why Gregory the Great was chosen to be included in the representation.⁸⁸ Nor can I explain it. The facts seem to indicate that it was orig-

86. E.g. in Westphalia; comp. *Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler Westfalens. Kreis Ahaus*, pl. 16. *Kreis, Coesfeld*, pl. 65. *Kreis Steinfurt*, pl. 60, 5.

87. E.g. MÅLE, *loc. cit.*, fig. 37.

88. I have dealt with the theme more explicitly in my study on the *Arma Christi* which is waiting for publication. But the following fact needs mentioning here, especially with respect to the last paragraph of this paper. The legend of an apparition of the *Imago pietatis* contradicted the fundamental theological teaching that no miraculous apparition showed Christ dead; comp. MOLANUS IV, 16, or for a testimony which was contemporary with the making of the image: FRATER HEINRICUS INSTITOR, *Tractatus novus de . . . sacramento*, Augsburg 1493, fol. A, II vo. Pope Benedict XIV did not repudiate the doctrine.



FIG. 16. — RHENISH, about 1500. — *The mass of St. Gregory.*
— Gallery, Augsburg.

inally the arbitrary choice of an individual.

Still, two centuries after the Council of Trent, Catholic religious art was not always required to be patently orthodox. Otherwise Pope Benedict XIV (1740-1758), who was a foe of the freedom of art beyond the formulation of the Council of Trent, would not have approved of the representations of the *Trinity* showing Christ dead (Fig. 14). The Pope based his approval upon their compliance with the rule, that God should be represented as seen by human eyes.⁸⁹ But visually, the representations contradict the correct dogmatic belief and cause much error. Never has a Person of the Trinitarian One God been considered dead. The motif, invented as a pictorial device to stir the emotions, but unconcerned with correctly symbolizing actuality, was sanctioned for a mere legal reason as late as 1745.

RUDOLF BERLINER.



89. *Benedicti Papae XIV . . . Bullarium*, vol. 1, Rome 1746, p. 567 ff. I wrote this paper in German in 1937 and I should like to acknowledge the generous help of many who participated in its preparation for publication.



A NEW INTERPRETATION OF RAPHAEL'S *DISPUTA*

THE problems of form and content in Raphael's *Disputa* (Fig. 2) are as old as its much disputed name. The architectural quality of the painting was felt by some of its interpreters, but none of them saw that Raphael had actually based his composition on the plan of a contemporary architect.

A comparison of the *Disputa* with Bramante's plans for the new cathedral of St. Peter in Rome (Fig. 3), gives the key for a new interpretation. If we project an outline of Geymueller's reconstruction of Bramante's final plan on Raphael's fresco, we make the astonishing discovery (Fig. 4) that the outline as a whole, as well as all the important structural details of both compositions, coincide.¹

The body of the building is determined by the groups of persons assembled around the altar in the center. The heavenly sphere with the divine persons define roof and dome. The outline of the cupola is given in the semi-circle of cherubs around Christ whose left knee is the center of the whole circle. Above him, the lantern encloses the figure of God the Father. The inclination of the bodies of the Virgin and St. John the Baptist on the right and left of Christ, determine the place where the cupola grows out of the tambour. The interior width of the tambour is given by the group of four boy angels carrying the books of the Gospels. The twelve jurors sitting on the clouds, which coincide with the roof line of the main building, determine the height of the tambour. The disc with the dove of the Holy Ghost is the keystone of the arch opening into the nave. The four Fathers of the Church sit-

1. This article is not written to solve the manifold questions arising from the new understanding of the collaboration between the painter and the architect. It merely presents the fact of this interrelation, which strangely enough has escaped notice up to now. The author is deeply indebted to the book of WILHELM STEIN, *Raphael*, whose sensitive understanding of the inseparable relationship of form and idea in Raphael's work gave the foundation for such a new understanding. HEINRICH VON GEYMUELLER, *Die urspruenglichen Entwuerfe fuer S. Peter in Rom von Bramante*, Vienna-Paris 1875, p. 14, text No. 65, p. 235. PROFESSOR WILLIAM BAUMGARTEN, School of Architecture, North Carolina State College, Raleigh, N. C., very kindly made the diagram of GEYMUELLER's reconstruction.

ting on both sides of the altar take the place of the pillars of the dome. The altar fills the entire width of the opening leading from the nave into the crossing. The borders of the two wings of the building are indicated by the youth standing on the lower left, and the head of Dante on the right. The outer walls of the ambulatory embrace the two men leaning over the railing in the foreground. The height of the building is fixed by the top line of the construction on the right, and proceeds over the heads of the Pope and the two bishops, who at the same time mark the center of each nave.²



FIG. 1. — RAPHAEL. — *Disputa del S. Sacramento*. — Vatican. (Detail).

and St. John the Baptist, the mediators between the two worlds, have their place at the joint of the dome and the tambour in the architecture — the very place where the weight of the structure is first felt. The tambour, the link between the hovering dome and the building itself, is taken by the Holy Ghost and the four Gospels which are the original sources of Christ's teaching — the word handed down to mankind by the representatives of the Old and the New Testaments. In this heavenly sphere, light

The amazing coincidence of the architect's plan and the painter's composition is confirmed by our explanation of the contents of the fresco. Raphael's *Disputa* of the holy sacrament or better, *The Triumph of Religion*, represents the construction and the organization of the Church by its divine and human founders. Three spheres are differentiated. At the top of the painting God the Father is the source of all light. We recall that he occupies the space of the lantern in the architecture which is the actual source of light for the dome. Rays of light and heavenly hosts surround him. Christ is the center and light of the second sphere, in which divine wisdom and power manifest themselves in men for the first time. St. Mary

2. It was always understood that the fragment of the building in the back had a direct relation to the new construction of St. Peter's.

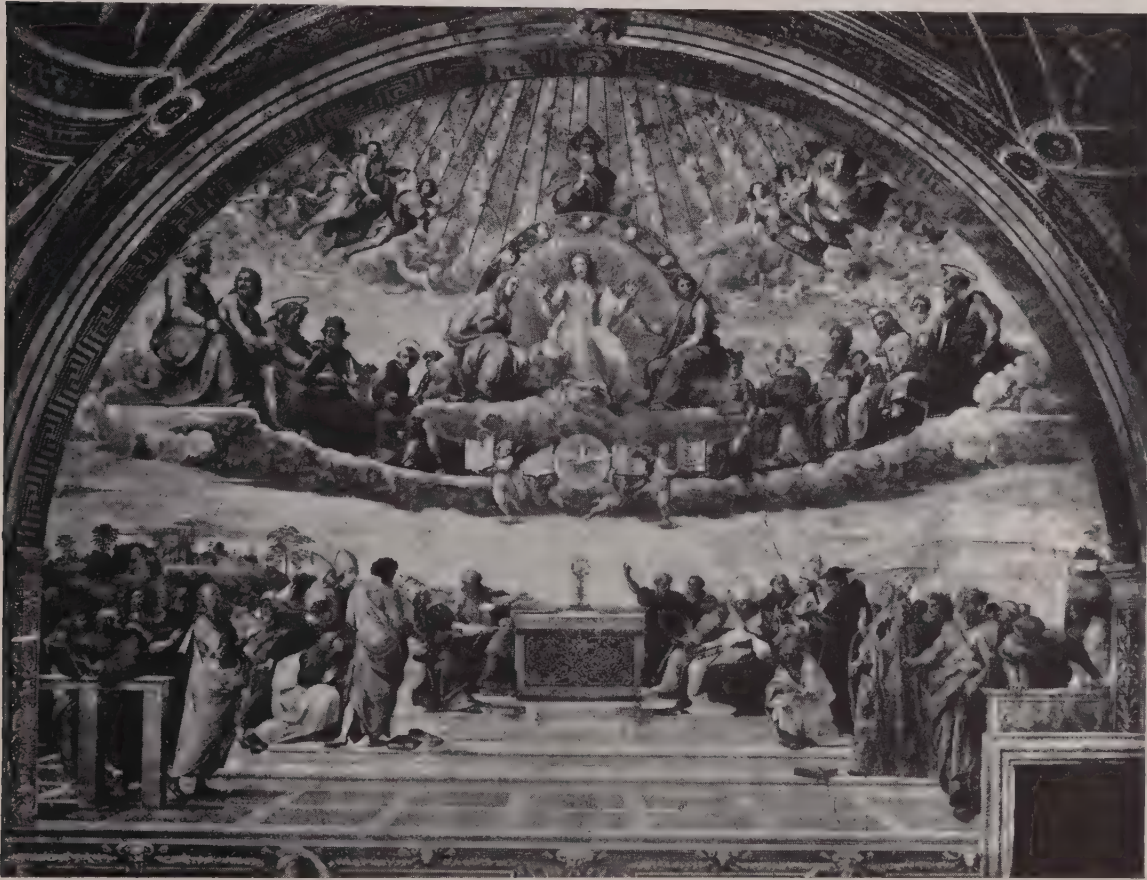


FIG. 2. — RAPHAEL. — *Disputa del SS. Sacramento*. — Vatican.

and movement converge toward the monstrance on the altar which is the geometrical center of the whole composition. It is the spiritual center as well, since only through the mystery of the Eucharist can Man be redeemed.

From this center the composition spreads toward the right and the left, thus determining the grouping of the figures in the earthly zone. The persons represented in this area are organized and grouped in relation to one another and in relation to the architecture, according to their significance for the dogma of the Church. The four Fathers of the Church, St. Gregory and St. Jerome to the left, St. Ambrose and St. Augustine to the right, are the only seated figures in the earthly region. This brings them closer to the seated figures of the representatives of the Old and New Testaments and at the same time symbolizes their fundamental stability as the founders of the dogma. In the architecture of the church they take the place of the pillars of the crossing, carrying the dome. Like these, they are the link between the vertical thrust of the dome and the horizontal structure of the naves; they are mediators between heaven and mankind; interpreters of the divine mystery contained in the

sacrament of the altar. This particular function of the four Church Fathers is stressed by the two figures next to the altar. The dark-clothed man on the right raises his right arm almost vertically as he points toward the Trinity. The left figure, with an equally intense movement, throws both arms horizontally toward the monstrance containing the sacrament. Both keep their eyes fixed on the two Church Fathers nearest them, St. Jerome and St. Ambrose, tying them up with the composition as well as with the spiritual cycle.

Two figures determine the axis of each nave, the Pope on the right and the young bishop on the left; both are still in close contact with the founders of the Church. Also connected with this interior circle is St. Thomas Aquinas between



FIG. 3. — The reconstruction of Bramante's final plan for the St. Peter Basilica, Rome, engraving. (After GEYMUELLER, pl. 14).

St. Augustine and Pope Anaclet. The corresponding figure on the left is the dark-haired man in classical garb. Two books on the steps at his feet, and three youths almost clinging to him, characterize him as a great teacher.

Of the remaining persons enclosed by the walls of the nave, the more important are St. Bonaventura and Pope Sixtus IV on the right, with two unidentified persons behind them. The writings of these church doctors still belong to the fundamentals of doctrine, although their books are commentaries rather than sources. This accounts for their location within the building. The same place on the left is taken by an older bishop accompanying the younger one mentioned before, and a group of

four conversing men, apparently the founders of the most important monastic orders. This latter group and the figure of Pope Sixtus on the opposite side are enclosed by the apses of the outline.

The wall of the apse is at the same time the border of the building proper. To the right, this border-line is determined by the interior edge of the massive construction in the back. The line cuts right through the center of the dark, laurel-crowned

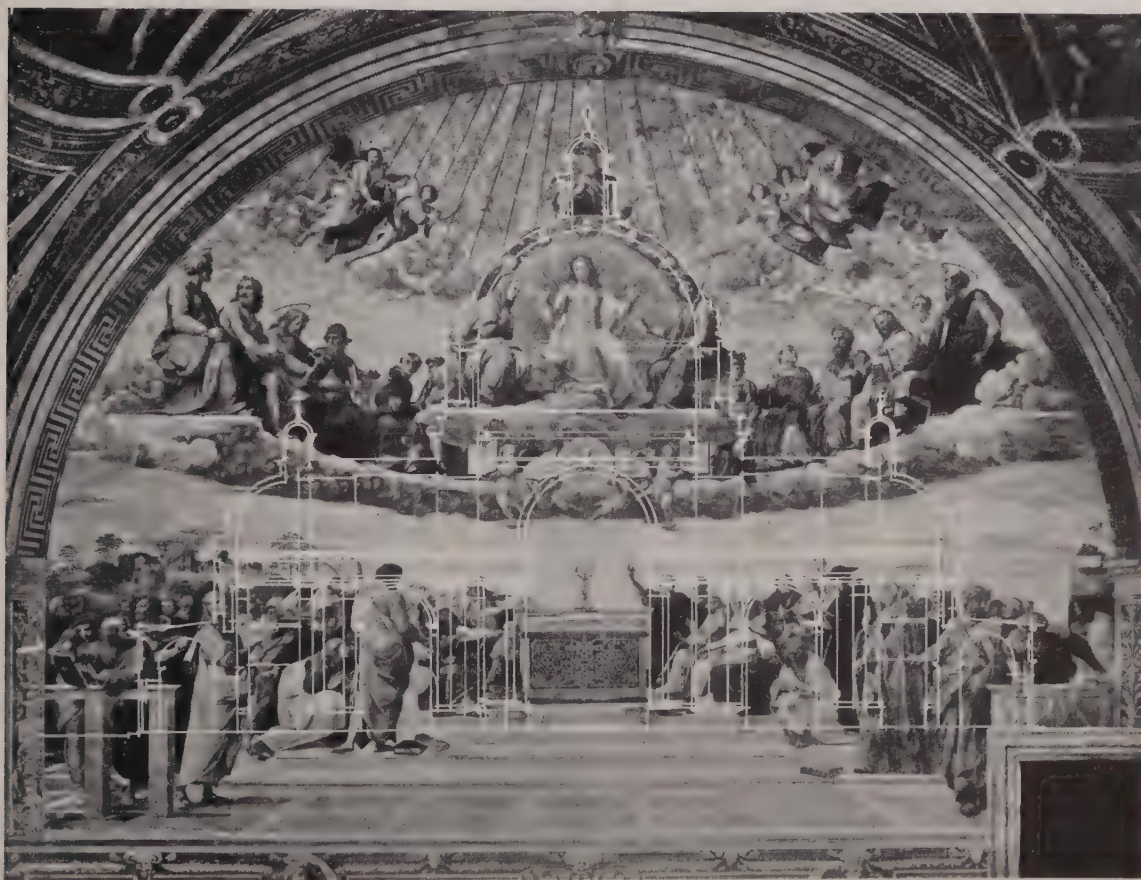


FIG. 4. — The projection on Raphael's *Disputa* of the reconstruction of Bramante's final plan for the St. Peter Basilica.

figure of a man whose identity cannot be mistaken: He is Dante.

On the opposite side, this place is occupied by the beautiful youth who is pointing toward the altar (Fig. 1), or to be more precise, he is not yet at that place, but the next step will bring him there. This figure has been identified as Raphael. That the features do not conform to Raphael's known portraits is of no significance, since the figure is not a self-portrait but meant to be the carrier, the interpreter of Raphael's ideas. The two men, the poet on the right and the painter on the left, are the last in the nave and this means that they help support the structure of the church.



FIG. 5. — RAPHAEL. — Sketch for the *Disputa*. — Royal Library, Windsor, England.

Thus, Raphael attributes enormous importance to the task of the artist as the interpreter of Divine Knowledge to humanity. In Raphael's mind this aim has been achieved by the poet. For himself, it is still an ambition, as indicated by the gesture of his hand and the motion of his body.

The figures next to him are easily identified. The older man leaning over the balustrade has long since been recognized as Bramante; the youth looking over his shoulder is supposedly Giulio Romano; the bearded man farther back and between this group and Raphael, is Francesco Penni, "*il fattore*."

These three reappear in the same grouping in the *School of Athens* where Bramante is portrayed as Euclid. This repetition indicates the important place which Bramante had in the circle around Raphael in his threefold capacity of teacher, friend, and mathematician.

The group in the right-hand corner seems equally important. There we see the conspicuous figure of a man in Roman garb in vivid discussion with the youth at his side. The boy leans over the balustrade to see the figure which the other is pointing out to him. The direction of the pointing finger makes it difficult to determine the object of his interest. It is most likely the youth sitting at the feet of St. Augustine, writing at the latter's dictation.

The naming of the figures behind and between the two groups — three on each side — must be more or less guesswork. The young monk behind Penni has been named Fra Bartolommeo. This would be even more acceptable if we could claim that the old man next to him were Leonardo da Vinci. Tradition has it that the heavy-faced monk to the right is Savonarola. He might well be the parallel to the wise painter on the opposite side. Two persons on each side of the picture are not included in the building proper. Here again we can only name the old monk on the extreme left who, according to Vasari, is the beatified painter, Fra Angelico. The portrait on his tomb in Florence justifies this Vasari tradition.

Comparing such of Raphael's sketches for the *Disputa* as have been preserved

(Figs. 5 and 6), we find that the composition of the left side of the painting has undergone many drastic changes.³ It seems that the Bramante group found its ultimate formulation only at the very last. We know from the drawings that the sacrament, as the spiritual and compositional center of the picture, was not conceived by Raphael before the time of the sketch in The British Museum. At the same time the figure of the youth called Raphael — which appeared as Beatrice in the first sketch only to be rejected in the later sketches — reappears, in an attempt to make him the leading figure in a group turned toward the altar. We have, however, no sketch which comes close to the ultimate solution.

It is evident that the sacrament on the altar, so obviously the center of attention, cannot — at this time and in such a place — be the center of a discussion. It is even more certain that the dispute restricted to the group of Bramante and Raphael cannot be about the Eucharist. The subject of their discussion is none other than the building of St. Peter's itself. This, in Raphael's mind, ought to be the expression of the organization of the church as a divine institution. It might be that the older master, faithful interpreter of Vitruvius' theories, followed his arguments hesitantly, but we know that Bramante's original plans underwent several changes and that five years later Raphael, his heir, as leading architect of St. Peter's, considered even more far-reaching alterations. Thus in the painting,



FIG. 6. — RAPHAEL. — Sketch for the *Disputa*. — Albertina, Vienna.

Bramante is proving his point from the books of Vitruvius, whereas Raphael points to the building to prove his own. Penni is the mediator between the two, while Giulio Romano, the pupil, eagerly looks into the book in order not to lose a word of what is going on.

A comparison of the reconstructions — made by Geymueller — of the different stages in Bramante's plan, doubtful as they may be in their final proportions and details, reveals that the main character has changed from a strongly centralized mas-

3. OSCAR FISCHEL, *Raphaels Zeichnungen*, Berlin 1913-28, vol. 6 contains the sketches for the *Disputa*.

sive type of building to a more diversified structure with a tendency to the horizontal. This change is parallel to the evolution in Raphael's compositional scheme, from the first sketch in which he anxiously tries to fill every space, to the structural grouping and the differentiation into spheres in the final version. There is certainly a close connection between these two facts. Raphael's final painting as well as Bramante's ultimate plan are the outcome of this contest between friends.

Two obstacles have stood in the way of a clear understanding of Raphael's *Disputa*: the first is the name, the second the unusual composition. An overwhelming flood of literature has been released in the attempt to solve these questions. When Vasari used the word "disputa" in his discussion of the painting, he had no intention of giving the picture a name. *Disputa*, as the name of the picture, does not appear before the XVIII Century.⁴ The XIX Century historians with their tendency toward rationalistic interpretation, made excessive use of the possibilities afforded by this name. Only Hermann Grimm came close to an understanding of the problem.⁵ Although he realized that the painting was a glorification of Pope Julius II's reconstruction of St. Peter's, he failed to see that there was a direct relationship between Raphael's composition and Bramante's construction. Grimm says: "In my opinion the idea to link up the painting with the construction of St. Peter's came to him [Raphael] only with the last version of his sketches. Before that his task had been the representation of the Holy Trinity, and as the consequence of its appearance, the ending of any dispute on this subject. The first sketch might not even have gone that far; all the Pope wanted was the Trinity alone as the center of the Catholic creed and the thoughts concerning it . . . The final result was the glorious apparition of the Trinity out of the obscure skies as a confirmation of the new construction of St. Peter's, the great undertaking started by Giulio under the auspices of God the Father and his heavenly hosts."⁶

However the right understanding was blocked so completely by this literary tradition, that our own time, far from finding a better solution, rejected all of it in favor of a mere formal explanation. This is, of course, a projection of our own artistic feeling into Raphael's time in which form and content were as inseparable as were Church and art. If we have understood that the plan of Bramante's St. Peter's inspired Raphael's picture, we also understand the composition and the content: the architectural structure of the institution of the church symbolized by its divine and human founders, supported and secured by their followers. The group of artists on the left is the key to Raphael's spiritual world.

CLEMENS SOMMER.

4. LUDWIG PASTOR, *The history of the Popes*, London 1923, vol. 6, 4th edition, p. 561 footnote. PASTOR's discussion of the *Disputa* is the most exhaustive in recent times. He also gives in the footnote mentioned above, a thorough criticism of the earlier interpretations.

5. HERMANN FR. GRIMM, *Aufsätze zur Kunst* (ed. REINHOLD STEIG), 1915, p. 91 et sq.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 95.

WILLIAM JOHN COFFEE AS A PORTRAIT SCULPTOR

IT has not been possible to establish the date of birth of William John Coffee, Anglo-American sculptor, painter, architect and engineer; nor has the place and date of his death been ascertained beyond the fact that it occurred after the year 1846. Under these circumstances, and the prefatory remark that these paragraphs treat solely of his work as a sculptor, the following can only serve to bring to notice again an artist of some merit.

In the year 1818 among the visitors to Monticello, the Virginia home of Ex-President Thomas Jefferson — author of the Declaration of Independence, admirer of J. J. Rousseau, theorist, politician, planter, inventor — was William J. Coffee, an Englishman, for whom Jefferson sat for a portrait head.¹ Coffee, like his

1. This head of Jefferson is owned by Miss Olivia Taylor, and was formerly in the Edgehill and Lego collections. There were other busts of Jefferson — by Houdon, Cerrachi, Causici, and Cardelli, as well as the life mask by Browere and a relief by Miller. In about 1893, Mrs. William B. Harrison, Jefferson's great granddaughter who was thought by reason of family connections to know more about the President "than anyone then living", wrote in regard to likenesses of Jefferson to the late Edward V. Valentine:

"1405 Park Avenue, Baltimore, Dec. 13th.

"Dear Mr. Valentine

I only heard by yesterday's mail of the order you have in hand for a statue of Mr. Jefferson . . . 1st fearing, Mr. Coolidge may not have sent you the Photograph of the Profile in his possession, I wish to say, that Baldwin Coolidge . . . has photographs from this picture. My Grandmother always thought this the best likeness of her father. Next, as regards Galt's Statue at the University, Mr. Galt was possessed with the idea that his father's head and Mr. Jefferson's were very much alike — as he tried on Mr. Jefferson's hat at 'Edgehill' he said, 'Yes, just as I thought, just the size of my father's'. I have been told the head of this statue was a most excellent likeness of the old doctor, Mr. Galt's father! My aunt Mrs. Coolidge who was perhaps a better, or rather a more CRITICAL judge than my father, could not endure this statue. — As for the beautiful one at the base of the Wash. Mont. it is Crawford's idea of what Mr. Jefferson OUGHT TO HAVE BEEN. My father never could forgive him for not perpetuating the beautiful Ciracci bust which was burned in the library at Washington somewhere in the forties. — This statue always seemed to me defective in the POURING OVER the M.S. in his hand, seeming rather at a loss for a word, than taking any very BROAD view. I have often heard my father say that IN THOUGHT his Grandfather always had his head thrown back, with the chin slightly elevated. This I think you will find the position of the head in the Medallion portrait by Stuart wh. Mr. Coolidge has. — I feel as tho' I were very presumptuous to thus add my mite toward the perfection of a work to wh. you will bring so much genius and study. — But I do not like the idea of that long swallow tailed coat and think the dress in Trumbull's picture of the signing is so much more picturesque. — . . .

Very sincerely yours,

Ellen W. Harrison."

(From the collection of the Valentine Museum, Richmond, Va.)

host, was versatile, enthusiastic, energetic, optimistic, and of an inventive turn of mind; in short, a type to appeal to the indefatigable Virginian, whose guest he frequently was.

Of Coffee's background we know but little. At one time or another he was potter, modeler, sculptor, painter, teacher of drawing, restorer of paintings, architect, projector of factories, and associated with Jefferson in practical and decorative details at the University of Virginia, Bedford House, and Monticello, as well as acting, at times, as Jefferson's agent in New York.² In the 1790's, previous to immigrating to the United States, he had been employed at the Chelsea Derby Works, and had been in partnership with William Duesbury before 1798 at a Friar Gate, London address. There they manufactured and sold white

Derby china and, when Duesbury returned to the Old Works, Coffee continued at Friar Gate manufacturing, for a short time, terra-cotta ornaments and figurines.³ In 1801, and as late as 1816, he exhibited at the Royal Academy, London.⁴

Coffee's departure for America probably took place in the latter part of 1817, and the spring of 1818 found him at Monticello. The length of his stay at this time is undetermined, but during it he secured a friend and patron whose kindness ended but with his death. On this first visit Coffee not only modeled the life-sized head of Jefferson⁵ but small terra-cotta busts of members of the family. When on April 11th he took his leave, he brought over to Ex-President James Madison, at Montpelier, the following letter of introduction and recommendation from Jefferson:

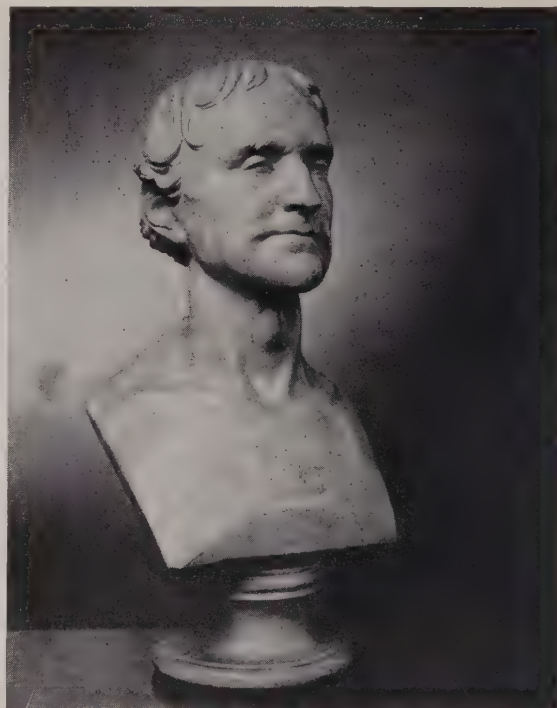


FIG. 1. — W. J. COFFEE. — Thomas Jefferson, bust. — Miss Olivia Taylor Collection, Washington, D. C.

2. Frequent commissions are mentioned in the Jefferson-Coffee correspondence between 1818 and 1825 (papers at the Library of Congress).

3. WILLIAM CHAFFERS, *Marks and monograms on pottery and porcelain*, London 1932, p. 828.

4. ALGERNON GRAVES, *The Royal Academy of Arts*, London 1905, v. II, p. 95 — Exhibiting 1801, nos. 895 and 898 models of a brood mare and a horse; 1808, no. 870, model of a figure for a candelabrum; no. 871, a study of a Welch pony, from nature; no. 876, a group of cattle; no. 879, a study of a greyhound, from nature; 1811, no. 919, model of a lioness, in terra cotta; 1816 no. 958, portrait of a setter, the property of M. Allam, Esq., of Derby, terra cotta.

5. About fifty years ago the original head was sent to a foundry as the owner contemplated having replicas made; the owner considered that the original was not returned. When she complained, she was told it had been broken in the process of making a mold.

"Monticello Apr. 11. 18.

"Dear Sir

"Yours of Mar. 29. came duly to hand, but I put off answering it because I expected to have written sooner by the bearer of the present Mr. Coffee. . .

"Mr. Coffee the bearer of this is a sculptor lately from England, and really able in his art. He makes busts in plaister or terra cotta, he came from Richmond to take your bust and mine, and gives less trouble than any artist, painter or Sculptor I have ever submitted myself to. I join therefore in solliciting your indulging him and your friends in sitting for him . . ."

For the period 1819 to 1827, Coffee made New York his headquarters and was listed in the city directories as sculptor, or as sculptor and painter.⁶ The city was not his permanent residence; his trips after commissions took him far, and before September 1820, he had been to Virginia again, returning to New York via Canada. On September 1st of the above year, from No. 501 Greenwich Street, he wrote Jefferson:

"Honble & Respected Sir

"I arrived in New York on the 18 of July much fatigued with a Journey of 1203 miles by land, that is from Monticello to Canada & from Canada to N. York Via Albany, and as soon as I was recovered from a slight Indisposition owing to the heat of the season, I search out the proper person . . ."

A week later he continued about various matters, writing from Newark, New Jersey, on the 8th of September:

"Honed Sir

"About the middle of this month it was your request to have the ornaments for Bedford House, as well as the ornaments for the University they are all in



FIG. 2. — W. J. COFFEE. — Thomas Jefferson, bust. — Miss Olivia Taylor Collection, Washington, D. C. (Profile).

6. Coffee was listed in the New York directories from 1819 to 1827, in 1821 and 1822 as a sculptor, and from 1824 to 1827 as a portrait painter. (Notes through the courtesy of Bartlett Cowdrey and the Frick Art Reference Library).

great forwardness and will be ready for shipment on the Last of this month, no time has been Lost since I have been home or have I applied a single hour to any other Employment so verry Laboreous & difficult has been this undertaking . . . [?] . . . my sending them to that time will in some measure depend on the unfortunate state of this City which has become so dangerous to the Health and Life of its inhabitants as nearly to drain a 3d of the number it contained at least all that can in any way Conveniently leave such a sink of disease and corruption, I need not say to you that it will Continue its Scourgeing March ontill the first



FIG. 3. — W. J. COFFEE. — Mrs. Wilson Cary Nicholas, bust. — Mrs. Page Taylor Kirk Collection, Washington, D. C. (Profile).

part of November at which time we are Visited by the Healthy nor'west winds and a Black frost. so much do I dislike this stinking Pestilential City, and so dread the prevailing fever that I thought it Proper to leave the City for this little Town I therefore at all Chances of fire and Robbery have locked up my furniture all the led ornaments and in fact all I have, Except my Tools and the moulds for the internal Ornaments which I must now finish in this Town, they will take me to finish about 3 weeks to Complete the whole & as soon as this is done If it is at all Prudent I shall go into New York. Pack them up & send them by the first ship to Richmond but all this I shall advise the Proctors with . . . [?] . . . all for the time. On the arrival of your Last favour I waited on Mr. Maverick gave him your drawing the . . . [?] . . . and all necessary information and I have not seen him since. I hope he has wrote to you whom I referred him for any other information he might stand in want of he promised to send you a

Proof Plate I hope by this time he has done so. If he has not and you will be Pleased to let me know I will write to him as he also may have left the City.

"I am Sir Yours to Command
with Much Esteem and Respect
W: J: Coffee."

"NB. The Enclosed you will have the goodness to forward to Mr. Brockenborough it is on the subject of the ornaments the contents of which he will show

to you of course.

"I hope your Cistern is by this time quite full. and will Mrs. Randolph have the goodness to inform Mr. Easton Randolph that I have not forgot his Painting."

In the spring of 1821 Coffee went farther South in search of commissions, and in April he was in Charleston, South Carolina, where he met with the local artists and men of prominence. From Charleston, on April 14, 1821, John S. Cogdell (1778-1847), artist, lawyer, and author wrote to Samuel F. B. Morse (1791-1872), artist and later inventor of the telegraph:

"My dear Friend

"... We also resolved Mr. William Coffee a Member of the Academy [the South Carolina Academy of Fine Arts] under the 11th Rule —

"The Prest. mentioned he had presented us with two Casts One of Genl. CC & the other of Gl. T. Pinckney & a Medallion of Mr. Poinsett; ... I called yesterday to see Mr. Coffee & saw him commence to model — a very interestg. subject: — he then told me how flattered he was by the notice of the Directors & told me there was a head of Mr. *Jefferson* at the North which he would send to me for the Society — thus he has been liberal and now being a member he will feel a deeper int. . . ."⁷

Meeting with such success — two heads and a medallion, if nothing else — Coffee contemplated another trip to Charleston. One of his former patrons then wrote thus discouragingly:

"Dear Sr:

"I received on Saturday last your favour of the 10th instant, and an opportunity of seeing Mr. Williams Lowndes the next day, and mentioned your wish



FIG. 4. — W. J. COFFEE. — Cornelia Jefferson Randolph, bust. — Mrs. Page Taylor Kirk Collection, Washington, D. C. (Profile)

"Charleston, Octr 23d, 1821

7. Letter of John S. Cogdell to Samuel F. B. Morse. — Collection of Miss Leila Morse.



FIG. 5. — W. J. COFFEE. — Mrs. Wilson Cary Nicholas, bust.
— Mrs. Page Taylor Kirk Collection, Washington, D. C.

of immortalizing his Bust; but he would not listen to my proposition, tho I assured him his face was not to be plastered, but what Beauty was in it would remain uninjured, nay untouched by you. He still however remained obstinate, and will take his flight to Washington next month, without having his Bust taken.

"The Taste for the fine Arts has not yet made so much progress among us as I could wish; for I have spoken to several of our Men of Influence to sit to you for their Busts, but they all refuse, so that I cannot with any propriety, give you any encouragement to take another trip to this Country; if a pecuniary emolument, or even a sufficiency to defray your necessary expenses is the object. My Daughters unite with me in wishing you much success wherever you may fix; And with great consideration and respect I remain

"Your obedt hble Sevt

Charles Cotesworth Pinckney"⁸

Professional employment did not seem to be then forthcoming in any quantity in New York either and, on November 9th, 1822, Coffee wrote to Jefferson:

"Most Honbl Sir

"When last I had the Pleasure of seeing you I think you had a desire to have your Pictures Cleaned & repaired, and which you then Postponed on account of your . . . [?] likely to be from home at the time you would wish to superintend the work,

"If you now have time to attend to them and feel the same disposition, it would give me much gratification to Pay you a Visit for this Purpose,

"I have nothing to do in N. Y. this winter, that will Induce me to contend with so rough a friend as the North-wester, If I could Employ my time in a more Pleasant Climate for two or three Months, The Expenses attached to the operation would lie in my traveling to and from Monticello say 70 Dollars, I

8. Letter of Charles Cotesworth Pinckney to William J. Coffee. — Collection of Garnett Chisolm.

lament the state of the fine Arts is such as will not permit me to offer my Services in a more Pleasing way to my Feelings, in the Spring I shall return to my Native Land,

"If you decide on the Necessity of having them Cleaned, your Condescension will I hope favor me with an early Information in which Case I must Procure some good Varnish.

"That you do and may Continue to Enjoy the Blessings of good Health is the hope of your

"Respectful and
Sincere Obt— . . .
W. J. Coffee"

Jefferson endorsed this letter:

"Note of reply Nov 22.21 . . . I accept with pleasure your proposition to visit us this winter, as well for that of your company as for the benefit my paintings will receive at your hands . . ."

and:

"Nov. 24 P.S. wrote for pen points".

"Dec. 31. Mr. Coffee arrived at Monticello."

Apparently this trip to Virginia did not extend to the expected length of time for on February 15, 1823, already in New York, Coffee wrote Jefferson that he expected to leave the city "a day or two before next April."

In January 1824 Coffee was in Albany (where he had a married daughter) and from there he wrote:

"Honbl Sir

"It is a long time since I have had, wat I may truly call the Pleasure of any Communication with you, I assure you Sir, it would be very Pleasing to know that you enjoy the Blessing of good Health, and as I have no other way but from yourself would beg that Honor conferred, should you hold willingness and



FIG. 6. — W. J. COFFEE. — Cornelia Jefferson Randolph, bust.
— Mrs. Page Taylor Kirk Collection, Washington, D. C.
(Front view).

"Albany January 11th. 24

time so Cheap. I would also beg to be Permitted to ask the state of the University. hope by this time you are all in full operation with Professors and Students and that your former Buildings are much Improved by the Rotunda, which of corse must be the Cap of Ornament to the whol Pile. feeling an interest in its success and knowing the trouble care and anxiety that you have had Induces me to ask those Questions which your kindness Perhaps will favor me with

"Sir with great Respects
Your Obt. Sevt
W. J. Coffee"

"I meditate a visit to your Beautiful state in the fall of the coming summer for the Purpose of Painting Portraits to Pick up a few Dollars in that way it is wat I am middlingly acquainted with sufficiently well to ornament the walls of Houses in General. I also intend to give Instruction in the Art of Painting to those Ladyes and Gentlemen that may have a taste in that way — my greatest reason is to git rid of this Cold Climate seven months winter allmost kills me and at the same time to repair loss I have had those [?] last ten months and as I am now all most a Lone Man, having had a Daughter Married Lately which has allmost broken me up and in some mesur stays me in this Country it is of little Consequens to wat Part I travel Could a small Part of my time be filled up from the Students of the University or a round that Part Perhaps you would oblige me with your good opinion — It is a melancholy reflection that dependant Man must be obliged to look out so far ahead but so it is. I would also beg to trouble you for a Charlottes-ville Paper folded and sent to me to this City at which Place I must stay till the River Opens which is now a Turnpike Road from one Side to the other and 40 miles each way Shall be in New York midle of April."

It seems probable that Coffee did not make this trip, and some fourteen months later (on March 21, 1825), he wrote to



FIG. 7. — W. J. COFFEE. — General Thomas Pinckney. bust. — The College of Charleston, Charleston, S. C.

Jefferson from New York City:

"Honbl. Sir

"We form plans of profit, and Pleasure, and determine to put them into execution, but from Imperfect powers of Perception (all tho we boast much of our little knowledge) we cant see this moment wat the next will Produce, I therefore sometimes think that chance brings to Pass, for Man more than any Contemplated disign that Human Machines can make. I had got all my necessary thing redy for your Mansion of Hospitality, when some distemper afflicted my Eys, and detained me in the house for three weeks, this detention and next the state of the Roads, that I found it impossible for one whose nerves was much out of tune to undertake so Long a Land Journey. But hope whom never takes her leave of Man while there is any Chance of Cheating him tells, me I shall be gratified, with the Pleasure of seeing you and beginning my operation about the middle of May, but to enable hope to keep her word with me, and that I may fully accomplish my wish of setting out on the 2^d or 3^d day of May, I am under the necessity of asking the favour of you, to beg of Mr. Brockingboro to forward me the Ballances Due, on or about the 20th of April, it will Much Oblige me as I have it to Pay in the City before I Can Commence my Journey.

"The latter part of the winter I have being Engaged in making a design for the Pediment of the Capitol at Washington in answer to a Proposal of Mr. Elgar the commissioner of Public works in that City, who offers \$500 for the most approved designs My designe will be a Splendid One, and hope is with me, Still think it twenty to One, but she deludes me at the Pinch. If there is anything I can do for you or any Branch of your family in New York be for I set out you will not doubt a . . . [?] . . . in commanding, it will give me Pleasure to do any thing that may be required, and in the Late fall, to come Id meditate returning to my Native Soil. Supposing that in the Corse of the summer I should be able to obtain there four Hundred Dollars by Painting the Faices of Laid and

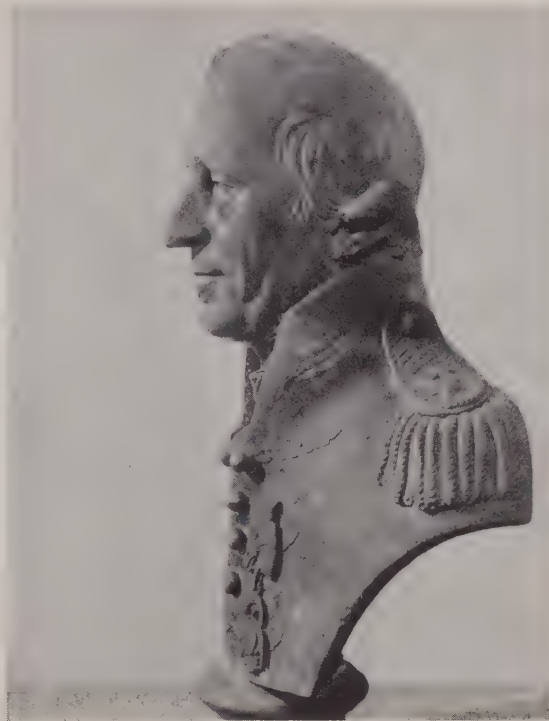


FIG. 8. — W. J. COFFEE. — General Thomas Pinckney, bust. — The College of Charleston, Charleston, S. C. (Profile view).

Gentlemen — Intend to besiege the Country round your Neighborhood, from thens to Stanton or some other mor Proper rout — I hop you will Pardon the length of this Letter

“And be Plea. to . . . [?] my
Great Respects an
Sincere Esteem
W. J. Coffee”



FIG. 9. — Attributed to W. J. COFFEE. — Commodore Decatur, bust. — U. S. National Museum, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.

Whether Coffee actually made these trips to Virginia and England we do not know, and as the kindly Jefferson died in 1826, this correspondence ceased.

It was not until 1832 that Coffee's name was listed in the Albany, New York, directories. There he was listed as both painter and painter and sculptor; his name appearing (with the exception of the year 1837-38) until 1846.⁹ Curiously enough, he does not seem to have sent any work down to the first exhibit of the National Academy of Design, organized in New York City in 1826. As Coffee was employed by and associated with men in the literary, artistic and scientific sets of the day, this omission is difficult to account for. However, in 1833, a J. Coffee, with no address given, exhibited as No. 215, *Pigs*, and this, if it really were

W. J. Coffee, was his only offering.¹⁰ In 1839 William J. Coffee, "Painter of Albany," exhibited at the American Art Union, New York, *Evening landscape, with cattle*, and *Winter, feeding cattle*. Both canvases were "for sale."¹¹

It seems likely that Coffee died shortly after 1846, probably near the age of seventy — having been in America twenty-eight years and having worked in England for at least twenty years before that. From the references to his health he had, for some time, been having trouble both with his eyes and nerves, as well as the wintry weather.

9. Notes through the courtesy of The Albany Institute of History and Art and the New York State Library.

10. BARTLETT COWDREY, Editor *National Academy of Design Exhibition Record 1826-1860*, New York, New-York Historical Society, 1943, V. I, p. 85.

11. Exhibition catalogue, American Art Union, 1839: COFFEE, WILLIAM J., Painter, Address: Albany. 255. *Evening landscape, with cattle*, for sale. 256. *Winter, feeding cattle*, for sale.

Although Coffee outlived Jefferson by at least twenty years and although his little fame died with him, fortunately for us the great letter writers of the XIX Century preserved their files, and from the Jefferson-Coffee correspondence in the Library of Congress we are able to present to the public a new and documented head of the great man, and to rescue from oblivion another Anglo-American artist.

* * *

Mr. Coffee, the "sculptor lately from England" who made "busts in plaster or terra cotta", and whom Jefferson recommended as "really able in his art," in addition to modeling the life-sized head of the statesman, made small terra cotta busts of other members of the family, among them Mrs. Randolph (Jefferson's daughter) and her children, Ellen, Anne, Cornelia and Thomas Jefferson Randolph. Those of Ellen and Thomas Jefferson Randolph have, unfortunately, disappeared, but happily, those of Anne and Cornelia have survived, as has another charming work of the same type, a small terra cotta of Mrs. Wilson Cary Nicholas (wife of Jefferson's intimate friend and later mother-in-law of Thomas Jefferson Randolph).

The descendants of Thomas Jefferson are numerous, and his belongings in the course of a century and more have been divided and re-divided; in addition to division through inheritance there are recorded losses of material through breakage, through fire and shipwreck and, in addition, much was disposed of at sale. Considering these facts and the fragility of the small terra cottas which, according to family tradition, were made from clay of the neighborhood, it is surprising that as many as the three have survived.

The late Charles Henry Hart in an article¹² refers to busts of Mrs. Randolph and Ellen at Edgehill. It is highly probable that Hart was familiar only with notes in the Account Book. Through "long generations" in the family of Jefferson's Randolph and Taylor descendants, it is unlikely that mistakes in identity could have occurred and that individuals familiar with contemporaries of Mrs. Randolph and



FIG. 10. — Attributed to W. J. COFFEE. — Commodore Decatur, bust. — U. S. National Museum, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C. (Front view).

12. *Life portraits of Thomas Jefferson*, in: "McClure's Magazine", May 1898.

Ellen, as well as Mrs. Nicholas and Cornelia, wilfully renamed the busts after another aunt and grandmother. I have not been able to locate a portrait of Mrs. Nicholas for comparison, but it is difficult to connect Sully's portrait of the fragile and etherial Mrs. Randolph with the masterful type of "Roman matron" portrayed in the terra-cotta of Coffee.

Of the busts of Mrs. Randolph and Ellen and the head of himself, Jefferson wrote in his account book after the 14th of April, 1818:

"note that on the 12th inst. I omitted to enter my draught on James Leitch for 105.D. in favr. of Mr. Coffee a sculptor. this is to pay for the originals of 3. busts, to wit Mrs Randolphs Ellens & mine. I bespoke of him 12. copies of Mrs R's @ 5.D each and one of Mr. Madison's if he makes it."

Two years later, on February 18, 1820, appeared:

"pd Wm J Coffee for busts 65.D. ante Apr. 4. 18."

Concerning the late delivery of these, Coffee had written to Jefferson from New York on the 5th of January, 1820:

"Honoured Sir

"After having promised to see you in person and to undertake the management of one of your Cisterns in Nov last, I can scarcely tell what to say in extenuation unless it is to beg pardon if I have given any disappointment; the fact is time has so slipped thro my fingers in such a manner I cannot well account for, and until the present moment, I have not had the satisfaction of informing you that I have at least finished my Labours, with regard to those Models in Terra Cotta which your taste in the fine Arts has done me the Honour to patronize; they are shipped on the 23d Dec on board the schooner, Rising States, & consigned to Captain Peyton to whom I must beg your goodness to write that they may be carefully conveyed to Monticello I must also take the liberty of requesting you to Inform Mrs Randolph and Mrs Bankhead as to the tenor of this letter; & until I have the Pleasure of seeing you which I hope will be very soon, be pleased to accept my very best wishes,

"Sr. I am Respectfully

Yours

William J. Coffee"

"NB. In One of the Cases were two Busts of Mr. Jefferson Randolph, one of which I have the Pleasure of requesting Mrs. Randolphs Acceptance."

What Jefferson thought of his head by the sculptor who "gives less trouble than any artist, painter or Sculptor I have ever submitted myself to," we do not know, but for us the sincere and convincing likeness is an important link in the series of portraits of "the sage of Monticello," and an interesting contrast to the Houdon bust of 1798

and the Browere life mask of 1825.¹³ Coffee's interpretation is close to the Stuart portraits of 1805, the Sullys of 1821-22 and the pencil sketch of Benjamin H. Latrobe.¹⁴ In facial construction and expression, it is more agreeable than the Rembrandt Peale and Bass Otis portraits and is similar to the St. Memim and Stuart profiles — with Coffee giving Jefferson a somewhat straighter nose and a forehead a trifle more receding. The plaster cast of Coffee's head of the ex-president, then aged seventy-five, shows a firm and decided, serene, tolerant and benevolent countenance. His hair is cut short and he wears the fashionable sideburns; the erect carriage of the head is emphasized, and the Adam's apple prominent; large muscles in the side of the neck are accentuated, as are the cavities above the collarbones. It is to be regretted that the neck and shoulders were not treated in a more formal manner; the careful delineation of the emaciation of old age is painful, while the proportions of the head in relation to the shoulders is not particularly successful. This bust, in style as well as in date, stands as a neo-classic presentation, between the XVIII and XIX Century realism of Houdon and the Browere.

This head of Jefferson and the heads of General Thomas Pinckney (Figs. 7 and 8) and Commodore Decatur (Figs. 9 and 10) are of high quality as interpretive portraits, as well as being vivid likenesses. The head of General Charles Cotesworth Pinckney has suffered too much for one to judge impartially, while the bust of General Van Cortlandt is not from life and lacks the animation and characterization notable in other works by Coffee which I have seen.

Coffee's small terra cotta busts of Mrs. Nicholas (Fig. 5) and Cornelia Randolph (Figs. 4 and 6) are artistically superior to the life-sized heads. This is natural enough when we consider that Coffee began his career as a modeler of china figurines. I do not mean to imply that these lack sculptural quality; far from it. Beautifully balanced and graceful, they are sincere studies of two women differing widely in age and character. Mrs. Nicholas is in the prime of life, a woman of dignity and determination, brains and personality, with clearly cut rather large features and a small double chin. Her expression seems slightly amused. Her hair is dressed in curls bound by a wide double bandeau; around her throat is a double ruff or "betsy" and her high-necked frock is embroidered and buttoned up the front; a shawl is draped evenly over her shoulders. A heavy chain is hanging about her neck and a locket en-

13. Letter of William J. Coffee to Thomas Jefferson, Dec. 1825:

"Honbl. Sir

"Seeing in one of the Prints of the day a strange account of a Very Strange adventure you of late unfortunately have undergone with a Strange man calling himself a Sculptor becaus he has had the presumption to try to make a few Busts of some distinguished Gentleman — as if like fan Painting, making Busts constituted the necessary requisite for a great Artist, But this Man, this Sign Painter, ought to have known as he was living in Italy — that moulding a living mans face is not, the way to obtain a good characteristick Likeness taking the whol of the features alter under the operation and then recours. must be had to Natur to corect those errors. But this is not my buissness, wat I presume to trouble you with is in Consequens of an Idea that has grown out of the same advertisement . . ."

14. JOHN E. SEMMES, *John H. B. Latrobe and his times*, Baltimore 1917, repr. f. p. 14.

graved with an eagle is suspended from it.

Cornelia Randolph, from Coffee's bust, must have been a charming and lovely girl with tip-tilted nose, broad forehead, a "sweet mouth," rounded chin, and a long and slender neck rising above a high bust and good shoulders. Her curls are dressed on top of her head and are bound by a ribbon; her Empire gown is cut with a low square neck, embroidered at the edge and caught at the center with a circular brooch. A light scarf is over one shoulder, thrown back from the other and twisted below the breasts.

The two very small plaster busts by Coffee which I have seen — *Dr. Williamson* and an *Unknown man* — are both vivid in expression and ably modeled. The face of Dr. Williamson is remarkably alert and urbane, while the curious expression of the unknown man puts him in the class of a psychological study and makes his anonymity more than usually distressing.

To a biography of Jefferson, this can add little more than another example of his patronage of the arts and of artists; for Coffee, Jefferson's friend and correspondent for seven years, it is offered only as a note on his American travels and a list of some of his works.

ANNA WELLS RUTLEDGE.

APPENDIX

MRS. CHARLES BANKHEAD (Anne Cary Randolph)
(b. 1791)

Coffee to Jefferson, January 5, 1820 v. s.

MARIE KIMBALL *More Jefferson furniture comes home to Monticello*

The Magazine "Antiques", v. 38, no. 1, July, 1940, p. 21 — the bust may be distinguished in a cut of the dining room. This cut was also used in MRS. KIMBALL's booklet *The Furnishings of Monticello* (The Jefferson Memorial Foundation).

Collection of the Monticello Foundation

DEWITT CLINTON (1769-1828), statesman, politician, philanthropist.

Medallion or bas-relief, engraved as frontispiece for DAVID HOUSACK's *Memoirs of Dewitt Clinton*, New York 1829

DAVID MCN. STAUFFER, *American engravers upon copper and steel*, New York 1907, pt. II, p. 99, no. 569

JAMES FENIMORE COOPER (1789-1851), novelist.
Descriptive Catalogue of Paintings now on Exhibition

at the Institute of Art, 625 Broadway, New York, 1861, p. 27, no. 102.

(There is the possibility that this bust may be the work of Thomas Coffee).

PIERRE VAN CORTLANDT (1721-1814), from a portrait by John Wesley Jarvis.

Copy of bill:

Albany, July 20-27

"The Honbl. P. Van Courtland
Dr. to W. J. Coffee

For a Portrate Bust of his honbl Father to Order \$100.00

To One Copy Cast of the same head to order 25.00

To one Packing Case .75

To the Cartage to the Boate .25

\$126.00

"Recd in full the above bill

W. J. Coffee"

Collection of Joseph B. Brenauer; both bust and bill on exhibition at the Museum of the City of New York.

STEPHEN DECATUR (1721-1814) Commodore, United States Navy.

Collection of the United States National Museum.

THOMAS JEFFERSON (1743-1826), President of the United States.

Letter of Jefferson to James Madison, April 11, 1818, v. s.

Jefferson Account Book, April 14, 1818, v. s.

Letter of John S. Cogdell to S. F. B. Morse, April 14, 1821 v. s.

CHARLES HENRY HART, *Life Portraits of Thomas Jefferson*, in: "McClure's Magazine", v. XI, no. 1, May, 1898, pp. 47-48

Collection of Miss Olivia Taylor

THOMAS JEFFERSON (1743-1826), full length.

It is improbable that the works mentioned below were executed.

Coffee to James Madison:

"New-York. Jan'y 25 1819

"Honbl. Sir

"Your goodness I hope will excuse the Present freedom on ocount of the of the [sic] subject on which I am writing and in which I very much wish I could engage your interest. It is in its Nature to me very Imposing and as I have not before in any Shape troubled you with Paper I somehow think you will condesend to give me your good opinion. I have a great desire to model a small whole Length Statue of Mr. Jefferson two Feet 6 in height. on my own Account for Subscription at 30 Dollars for Statue, to be in White Plaster, that is Provided I Should be so fortunate as to get Mr. Jefferson's Consent, but this is a small Matter and wholly withing [sic] my command should I be so happy as to gain the Permission of Mr. Jefferson. The Subject to which I could wish to draw your attention is a whole Length life size Statue of so Eminent a Man. which could now be don at a very small Expenes and when don would adorn the State by Placeing it in the rotonda of the University and as Mr. Jefferson has don so much for his Country and Particularly for his own state it appears to me that such a work would be very acceptable and in fact the apex of respect and gratitude for so much time. talent. and Virtue that has been bestowed on the People of this nation. I must beg to say that was such a subject started and supported by your Interest and ability, it is not only Probable that that [sic] it would go on but almost impossible on the Plan I shall mention that it could faile.

"I shall Propose to model and compleat in white Plaster a full Life Size Statue of Mr. H [sic]

"To be Executed from a small Model taken from the life. The work to be Executed in this City or in London."

JAMES MADISON (1750/51-1836), President of the United States.

Possibly a head of Madison may have been included in the unitemized objects mentioned in the following letter: Coffee to Madison:

New York Decr 23 1819

"Sir

"I have taken the liberty of forwarding to Mr. J. Cook

to be sent on to you the models in terra Cotta, consisting of your orders they are shipped as pr Bill of Lading & I hope they will arrive safe I must beg your goodness to order that they may be safely conveyed from the vessel to you & then carefully unpacked

"Sir I am with much

Respect and Esteem

Your Obt Sevt

William J. Coffee."

SAMUEL L. MITCHELL, M.D. (1764-1831), physician, scientist, politician.

The Charleston (S. C.) "Courrier", April 29, 1823

JANE NICHOLAS (Mrs. Thomas Jefferson Randolph)

The subject is said to have disliked this bust of herself and to have destroyed it on purpose.

MRS. WILSON CARY NICHOLAS (Margaret Smith) (b. 1765)

Collection of Mrs. Page Taylor Kirk

CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY (1746-1825), soldier, statesman, diplomat.

Letter of John S. Cogdell to S. F. B. Mores, April 14, 1821, v. s.

Collection of the College of Charleston, S. C.

THOMAS PINCKNEY (1750-1828), soldier and diplomat.

Letter of John S. Cogdell to S. F. B. Morse, April 14, 1821, v. s.

Collections of the College of Charleston, S. C., and of Miss Caroline Pinckney Huger.

JOEL R. POINSETT (1779-1851), diplomat, statesman, scientist.

Medallion.

Letter of John S. Cogdell to S. F. B. Morse, April 14, 1821, v. s.

CORNELIA JEFFERSON RANDOLPH (1799-1871).

Catalogue of the loan exhibition of portraits of the Signers and Deputies to the Convention of 1787 and Signers of the Declaration of Independence including their families and associates in commemoration of the 150th formation of the Constitution of the United States, Washington, The Corcoran Gallery of Art, 1938, p. 56, no. 72

Collection of Mrs. Page Taylor Kirk

ELLEN RANDOLPH (Mrs. Joseph Coolidge).

Jefferson Account Book, April 14, 1818 and March 18, 1820

CHARLES HENRY HART, *op. cit.*, May, 1898, pp. 47-48

MRS. THOMAS MANN RANDOLPH (Martha Jefferson) (1772-1836).

Martha ("Patsy") Jefferson Taylor was the granddaughter and name-sake of Mrs. Randolph and for this reason was given many of her things. It is known that she owned a bust which was broken; possibly it may have been one of Martha Jefferson Randolph.

Jefferson Account Book, April 14, 1818 and March 18, 1820.

CHARLES HENRY HART, *op. cit.*, May, 1898, pp. 47-48

Hart's notes, though useful, are frequently inaccurate and in this case he was unaware that there were other likenesses of the family by Coffee.

THOMAS JEFFERSON RANDOLPH (1792-1875).

Letter of Coffee to Jefferson, January 5, 1820, v. 8.

HUGH WILLIAMSON, M.D. (1735-1819), statesman and scientist.

Signed *W. J. Coffee Fecit/ New York*.

WILLIAM KELBY, *Notes on American artists*, New-York Historical Society, 1922, p. 76

Catalogue of the Gallery of Art of the New-York Historical Society, 1915, p. 147, no. 67

Catalogue of American Portraits, The New-York Historical Society, 1941, p. 344, no. 832

Collection of the New-York Historical Society

UNKNOWN MAN, Newark, 1824, H. 6¼ inches.

Signed: *W. J. Coffee, Fecit/ Newark/ Oct. 23-1824*
Collection of Harry McNeil Bland

UNKNOWN SUBJECT — Charleston, 1821.

Letter of John S. Cogdell to S. F. B. Morse, April 14, 1821, v. 8.

YOUR SMALL AUNT [?]

Coffee to James Madison:

"Monticelo May 3, 1820

"Sir

I have taken the liberty of Inclosing your small Aunt [?] which I shall be much favored by seeing in a few days when I shall call on my way home.

"Sir I am with much/Respect and Esteem

W. J. Coffee."





A SURVEY OF SWEDISH ART-LITERATURE 1940—1945

MANY factors contribute to the present hectic activity among Swedish writers on art, of which not the least important are the Swedish public's increasing awareness of the value of art, and desire to know something about its historical and local destinies. A third stimulus of decisive importance is to be found in the intensive scientific study of art.

There has, therefore, been a marked increase in production, which will probably soon reach its climax, and the official bibliographies are replete with

the titles of books on art. An improvement in quality is also noticeable. The science of theoretical art in Sweden has long been devoted to the search for suitable methods with which to discuss and comprehend art in all its forms, and this has led the writers to adopt a more universal and profound way of dealing with their material.

For instance, *The structure of the work of art*, and *The subject of art history*, both by PROFESSOR GREGOR PAULSSON, of Uppsala, are two recent and important theoretical contributions to the charac-

terization of works of art. They dwell particularly on the many shifting perspectives from which we must choose if we are to get a correct grasp of art in all its variations.

PROFESSOR RAGNAR JOSEPHSON, of Lund, has chosen another and more unusual means of promoting our understanding of art in a work which has been received with the greatest interest by the Swedish public. It is called *The birth of the work of art* and in it he traces the execution from start to finish of various masterpieces. In a series of fascinating analyses he dissects the elements of a number of well-known paintings and sculptures, and then attempts to put the component parts together again in their original order.

This increasing ability to deal with questions of art involves greater demands on the authors. Even routine jottings and art journalism show a desire to master the correct terminology. The time seems to be really over when an adequate description of a picture was limited to a listing of the objects represented. Now the critic attempts to apprehend the esthetic side of the work of art and interpret its total effect.

DR. CARL NORDENFALK, of the Stockholm National Museum, has recently compiled the ideal catalogue of Conrad Pineus' collection of Scandinavian paintings in Gothenburg, in which he interprets something of the individual essence of each picture.

The following commentary on the art literature of the 1940's is limited to publications of international importance only. The many popular monographs and surveys, together with analyses of specifically Swedish subjects are not included. The publications mentioned in the article are listed at the end of this survey.

Ancient art has always been of special interest to Scandinavian scholars, and this has left its mark on Swedish art-literature. Most of the material which has been published of late years consists of reports on the excavations in the Mediterranean countries. These are of great interest. The Swedish expeditions were considerably expanded during the period between the two world wars, and have now achieved epoch-making results.

"Acta Archeologica" (Copenhagen 1940 and 1941) gives an account of the excavations in Maasara in the Nile delta, while earlier issues of the same journal have dealt with the work of the Egyptolog-

ical Institutions (Stockholm and Uppsala) in the neighboring districts of Aby Ghâlib and Merimde Beni Salame.

PROFESSOR AXEL W. PERSSON's narratives of the Swedish excavations at Dendra, Asine and Berbati — all of them in Argolis — have not yet been completely revised. The rich treasure-trove from the royal tombs in the necropolis of Dendra was the subject of a report in the 1930's but PERSSON has contributed new important information in *New tombs at Dendra near Midea* 1942. With these explorations and others elsewhere, such as those at Mylassa in Asia Minor, the Swedes have thrown a new light on Mycenaean art and brilliantly endorsed the theory of its dissemination in the Mediterranean countries.

A further important contribution to this subject has been made by DR. ARNE FURUMARK in his *Mycenaean pottery: analysis and classification*, 1940-41, and its supplement *Chronology of Mycenaean pottery*, 1941. These volumes form an enormous discursive total survey of Mycenaean ceramics — a complete reference book for all specialists throughout the world.

The excavations on the acropolis at Asea in central Peloponnesus under the leadership of ERIK J. HOLMBERG, produced valuable material from the Late Neolithic and Early and Middle Helladic eras, and at the same time the Swedes also excavated an important Doric temple, a peripteros, in the same neighborhood. HOLMBERG has given a comprehensive report of all this in *The Swedish excavations at Asea in Arcadia* 1944, and *A Doric temple near Asea in Arcadia* 1941.

The excavations in Cyprus in 1927-1931 form a particularly extensive and significant chapter in the history of Swedish classical research. They were conducted by EINAR GJERSTAD, ALFRED WESTHOLM and ERIK SJOKVIST, and have attracted world-wide attention, largely because of the extraordinarily thorough and systematic searchings and the reports of the wonderful cities and sanctuaries, as well as the thousands of sculptures which have been uncovered. The publication of the fourth volume of *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition* is awaited next year.

The Swedish Institute in Rome is responsible for research on the Italian peninsula, and the results of this work are generally reported in the records of the Institute.

In 1940 DR. ARVID ANDRÉN published his comprehensive work *Architectural terracottas from Etrusco-Italian temples*, which deals exhaustively with the terracotta ornaments which were wall-fixtures in early Etruscan sanctuaries.

DR. OLOF VESSBERG's publication of the following year, *Studien zur Kunstgeschichte der römischen Republik*, is an extremely significant account of early Roman sculpture with particular regard to portrait statuary from 100 B.C. to the Augustan era. The first part of this work is composed of an historical outline of Roman art, divided into five periods, from 500 B.C. to about 30 B.C., and is founded on the statements of classical writers, while the sequel is a comprehensive analysis of the actual material — the earliest Roman portrait sculptures.

PROFESSOR AXEL BOËTHIUS, of Gothenburg, has devoted much study to the city of Rome during the different classical eras, and has written many theses on this subject. He has lately published, *the architecture of apartment houses in the Roman metropolis* in which he stresses an aspect of architecture which has never before met with such attention from the historian. BOËTHIUS deals mainly with tenements from the imperial era, but his exposé is carried far into the Middle Ages.

Finally, Swedish research can flatter itself that it has described the architecture of various Roman districts, including the Comitium in the Forum Romanum.

In 1938-39, GJERSTAD conducted excavations beneath Caesar's speakers' platform, and a meticulous analysis of the underlying strata facilitated the chronologizing of remains dating from the principal Roman political eras, as far back as about 450 B.C. GJERSTAD, with the aid of reconstructions in the Swedish Institute's "*Opuscula*," has dealt thoroughly with this subject under the heading of *Il Comizio Romano dell'Età Repubblicana*.

ALFRED (ALFIROS) WESTHOLM's *Swedish excavations in the Mediterranean countries*, published in: "Le Nord, International Review of the Northern Countries," Vol. VII, 1944, contains an excellent summary of Swedish classical research from the 1890's to the present day.

DR. PER GUSTAF HAMBERG's treatise, *Studies on Roman imperial art with special reference to the State reliefs of the second century*, 1945, is at present the subject of much discussion. The author, a scholar and expert on imperial sculpture, has col-

lected a number of reliefs with historical and triumphal subjects, and attempts to give them a deeper meaning by setting them in direct relation to the moral and religious foundations of the State. This tendency to interpret and understand art as a component part of contemporary social life was originally sponsored by HAMBERG's teacher, PROFESSOR PAULSSON. At present PROFESSOR PAULSSON is busy on a magnificent history of universal art, and the theoretical view-points which are noticeable in HAMBERG's work, are also to be found in the classical section which was published in 1942.

An equally comprehensive history of universal architecture, *The structure of architecture*, by DR. ERIK LUNDBERG, is also in progress. Only the first large volume, dealing with Egyptian, Mesopotamian and archaic Greek architecture has appeared thus far. LUNDBERG also bases his exposition on a strongly personal conception — a psychological doctrine of the origin and interpretation of art.

The Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities in Stockholm is the center for Swedish study of Chinese art, and the foremost Swedish sinologists contribute to its annual bulletin. This admirable series can be obtained from Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., London. During the 1940's three world-famous Swedes have made important contributions to the bulletin: BERNHARD KARLGREN, *Huai and Han*, 1941, and *Some early Chinese bronze masters*, 1944; OSWALD SIRÉN, *Chinese sculptures of the Sung, Liao and Chin dynasties*, 1942, and J. GUNNAR ANDERSON, *Research into the prehistory of the Chinese*, 1943. In addition, OSWALD SIRÉN has recently presented the Swedish public with a handsome and awe-inspiring historical work, *Three thousand years of Chinese art*, which contains 1300 pages and exhaustive material from prehistoric times up to the middle of the Ch'ing period.

The art of India and the Far East attracts few Swedish connoisseurs, nevertheless, DR. CARL JOHAN LAMM can be ranked with the world's foremost specialists in this field. The war has curbed his activity but he has published two volumes based on material in Sweden, *Oriental glass of medieval date found in Sweden and the early history of lustre painting*, 1941, and *Orientalische Briefumschläge in schwedischem Besitz*, 1944. The latter was written in collaboration with DR. AGNES GEIJER and describes, with illustrations, a large number of sty-

listically unique Persian and Crimean-Tartar brocade bags from the XVII Century. Both these works are included in the bulletins of the Royal Academy of Letters History and Antiquities.

These also include four newly published studies by PROFESSOR NILS ABERG, of Stockholm, in which the author discusses Oriental, classical and barbaric style elements and their presence in European art from the VII to the X Centuries. Their titles are: *The Occident and Orient in the art of the Seventh Century: In the British Isles*, 1943, *In Lombard Italy*, 1945, *In the Merovingian Empire*, 1946, and *Celtic and Oriental influences on style in Scandinavian art of the Viking period*, 1941.

Prominent among newly published literature dealing with ancient Swedish art is *Studien zu dem bronzezeitlichen Felszeichnungen von Skane*, by CARL AXEL ALTHIN.

The second volume of a publication of a similar nature is awaited next year, namely, *Monumental art of northern Europe from the Stone Age* by DR. GUSTAF HALLSTROM, which deals exhaustively with the rock engravings and paintings in the northern districts of Sweden, Norway, Finland and Russia.

PROFESSOR LINDQVIST presents a fascinating array of ancient monuments in *Gotlands Bildsteine* 1940-42, in which he describes a number of monoliths on the island of Gotland, some of them over three meters high, and covered with engraved or painted scenes. Most of these date from about 700 AD and form one of the most complete pictorial cycles in the world of that time, but many go as far back as the V Century. These enigmatic paintings sometimes constitute an entire story; LINDQVIST has spared no effort in trying to interpret their meaning and has in many cases succeeded in doing so. It is doubtful whether these stones have any connection with continental or Celtic-insular art, but points of resemblance have been found with Irish stones and the so-called Franks Casket.

Two publications regarding excavations in Sweden are worthy of note. The first of these deals with the discoveries at Birka, an island in Lake Mälaren, and is entitled *Birka, Untersuchungen und Studien I*, 1940-43, by HOLGER ARBMAN. The results of these excavations have proved to be of great importance, being chiefly objects of the IX and X Centuries, imported from the Continent, nothing of

its kind having previously been encountered or preserved.

Valsgärde near Uppsala has yielded ships laden with treasures from the VII and VIII Centuries, and these are described by GRETA ARWIDSSON in *Acta musei antiquitatum septentrionalium Regiae universitatis Upsaliensis I and II*, 1942. These discoveries, however, are not unique, as similar finds have been made during the war, for instance, at the archeologically celebrated Sutton Hoo in England.

The most voluminous and imposing study of medieval art in Sweden has been contributed by PROFESSOR JOHNNY ROOSVAL. This brilliant front-rank figure has produced what is perhaps the most lasting discourse on art of our epoch, in the shape of a modest *opuscule* *The parish church and the Temple of Solomon*. Behind this mysterious title lies a profession of faith in medieval art, and a passionate attempt to open the eyes of the public to its merits. ROOSVAL's practical works deal principally with medieval ecclesiastical art in Gotland, and in this field his utterances carry weight all over Europe. His *Stained glass in Gotland* is due to appear shortly, with illustrations of the fine medieval stained glass of that island. ROOSVAL's finest effort is perhaps *The churches of Sweden, a general art inventory* on which he has been engaged with admirable energy and devotion since 1912. His ambition is eventually to publish all the priceless treasure which the Swedish churches — many of them relics of the Middle Ages — represent. During the war ROOSVAL has pushed on with this work which he expounds in an article in the above-mentioned number of "Le Nord", and at present the situation is as follows: 260 churches have been thoroughly explored and the results published; 300 are now in manuscript; and another hundred are in course of preparation. The majority, however, are still untouched.

A number of other eminent scholars have conducted successful research in medieval sacred and profane art, and an immense number of brochures on the subject have appeared during the 1940's. Among the more outstanding ones may be named: *The history of Kalmar Castle I: up to the middle of the XIV Century*, 1944, which is the result of PROFESSOR MARTIN OLSSON's model reconstruction, during the past thirty years, of one of Sweden's oldest fortified castles. *Architecture in Sweden 1000-1400*, by ERIK LUNDBERG, 1941, is the first volume of a gigantic survey of Swedish architecture up to the present day.

Ten thousand years in Sweden is a monumental history of archeological finds and works of art, from the first flint arrowheads, which date from the time following the departure of the ice blocks from Scandinavia, up to the ecclesiastical art at the end of the Middle Ages. The History Museum in Stockholm, with the assistance of a large number of art historians, archeologists, numismatists and connoisseurs of various arts and crafts, is responsible for this work.

Other significant wartime publications dealing with great European art, include the following: *A monograph on Michelangelo*, 1943, by PROFESSOR AXEL L. ROMDAHL, Gothenburg; *A review of Italian Mannerist portrait painting* by NILS LINDHAGEN, which abounds in ingenious theories; *A comprehensive study of Tintoretto* by DR. VIGGO LOOS, in which the author tries to characterize the great Venetian's painting as the esthetic result of the religious faith of the Counter Reformation.

Royal Paris, 1943, by RAGNAR JOSEPHSON, is an admirable illustrated collection of essays about the royal residences, town planning, and great monuments of Paris from the Renaissance edifices of François I to Napoleonic neo-classicism.

Other modern publications introduce French works of art in Sweden. The National Museum's fine collections of XVIII Century French architectural drawings have given rise to two important catalogues, one of which (1945) lists more than two hundred hitherto overlooked plates by the French Baroque architect Pierre Bullet. They have been selected from the Tessin-Harleman collection which contains about 10,000 plates. The second catalogue (1942) covers a selection of the most striking architectural and decorative drawings of the C. J. Cronstedt collection which was presented to the National Museum by Baron Dr. Erik Langenskiöld. This collection which was previously almost unknown, comprises about 8,000 original sketches by French, Italian and Swedish masters, and the catalogue includes 11 designs for the Louvre and the Tuileries by François Le Vau, three drafts by Charles Le Brun, one by Carlo Maderna (a design for a ceiling for Sta. Susanna in Rome) and a quantity of designs by Claude III Audran (about which an article appeared in the October 1945 issue of the "Gazette" which was contributed by Swedish scholars). These two catalogues are expected to attract many French scholars to Stockholm, and the same

may be said of ERNST GOLDSCHMIDT's recently published monograph on *Chardin*, which is devoted chiefly to the many important pictures by that master in Swedish possession.

Among the many books on French art we draw attention to NORDENFALK's study of Van Gogh, 1943. Two well-informed books on Matisse in the Swedish language appeared last year, one by LEO SWANE, director of the Art Gallery of Copenhagen, and the other by ISAAC GRUNEWALD, former professor at the Art Academy in Stockholm, and a pupil of the French master.

In general, Swedish art seems to be a blend of native and continental European attributes. The gigantic publication, *The history of the Stockholm Palace* confirms this theory. It describes the history of the building of the Palace, from the end of the XII Century up to the present day, and stresses how the continuing work on it formed the chief Swedish source of contact between native and imported artists.

SIXTEN STROMBOM has compiled for the Swedish Portrait Archives, the enormous index of Swedish royal portraits from the XVI and XVII Centuries, and these also show the part played by the Continent in Swedish art-history.

The XVIII Century was, however, a period of expansion for Sweden, with Swedish artists coming into possession of key positions in several European art centers. The Swedish Institute in Paris — the Institut Tessin — has made a study of the great Swedish achievements in France, and this has formed the base of the National Museum's *Five Great Gustavians*.

At the same time, Swedish painters played a decisive part in Danish art, and this is exhaustively described by B. G. WENNBERG in his *Swedish painters in Denmark in the XVIII Century*, 1940. A unique return visit on the part of a French artist has been related by NILS G. WOLLIN, in *Desprez en Suède*, 1940.

Many important surveys of Swedish art have recently seen the light of day. In 1944 PROFESSORS HENRIK CORNELL and ANDRAES LINDBLOM both produced voluminous historical summaries of the art of Sweden from prehistoric times to the present day. The former writer lists the results of his investigations with ponderous concentration, while the latter presents his material with the ease and elegance of an essayist. *A hundred years of Swedish art* presents

the chief events in creative Swedish art year by year, from 1843 to 1943, in a series of illustrations, edited by SVEN ALFONS, BO LINDVALL, and RAGNAR JOSEPHSON.

ERIK LUNDBERG's *Swedish dwelling houses*, 1942, is also of interest. Here the author follows the traditional Swedish trends in architecture through all the imported styles, and contrives to isolate the genuine Swedish features.

Another book devoted to native Swedish art is SVANTE SVÄRDSTROM's handsome album *Dalecarlian peasant paintings*, 1944.

Finally there are two new publications, *Swedish silversmiths' work 1520-1850* and *Brass, 400 years of factory goods and handiwork*, which give a remarkable general impression of Swedish metal-work throughout the ages.

O. REUTERSVÄRD.

INDEX OF PUBLICATIONS MENTIONED IN THE SURVEY OF SWEDISH ART LITERATURE

NILS ABERG. *Keltiska och orientaliska stilinflytelser i vikingatidens nordiska konst* (Celtic and Oriental influences on style in Scandinavian Art in the Viking period). *Kungl. Vitterhets-Historie och Antikvitetsakademiens handlingar* 46:4 (Bulletins of the Royal Academy of Letters History and Antiquities 46:4). With an English summary, 100 pp., 90 ill., Paper-b. 5 Crowns.

NILS ABERG. *The Occident and the Orient in the Art of the Seventh Century. I: The British Isles. II: Lombard Italy. III: The Merovingian Empire*, *Kungl. Vitterhets-Historie och Antikvitetsakademiens handlingar* 56:1-3 (Bulletins of the Royal Academy of Letters History and Antiquities 56:1-3.) Paper-b. Each 7½ Cr.

CARL-AXEL ALTHIN. *Studien zu den Bronzezeitlichen Felszeichnungen von Skane*, Stockholm 1945, 336 pp., 85 pl. Paper-b. 20 Cr., Bound 60 Cr.

J. GUNNAR ANDERSSON. *Researches into the prehistory of the Chinese*, *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, Stockholm, No. 15., 304 pp., 200 pl., 136 ill., 2 frontispieces in full color. Paper-b. 60 Cr.

ARVID ANDRÉN. *Architectural terracottas from Etruscan Italian Temples*, *Acta instituti romani regni sueciae*, VI. 772 pp., 42 ill., and a portfolio with 168 plates.

AXEL BOËTHIUS. *Den romerska storstadens hyreshusarkitektur* (The architecture of apartment houses in the Roman metropolis), "Göteborgs högskolas årsskrift," 1944:4 (Gothenburg University Annual, 1944:4).

HENRIK CORNELL. *Den svenska konstens historia* (History of Swedish Art). I: *Fran hedenhös till omkring 1800* (From prehistoric times to about 1800). 470 pp., 69 ill., 332 pl., 16 repr. in full color. II: *Nineteenth Century*, Stockholm 1944, 1946. 30 Cr.

ARNE FURUMARK. *The Mycenaean pottery, analysis and classification*, 1940-41, 689 pp.

ARNE FURUMARK. *The chronology of Mycenaean pottery*, 1941, 155 pp.

AGNES GEIJER & CARL JOHAN LAMM. *Orientalische Briefumschläge in Schwedischem Besitz*, *Kungl. Vitterhets-Historie och Antikvitetsakademiens handlingar* 58:1 (Bulletins of the Royal Academy of Letters History and Antiquities 58:1), Stockholm 1944, with plates in full color, Paper-b. 5 Cr.

EINAR GJERSTAD. *Il Comizio Romano dell'Età repubblicana. Opuscula archaeologica edidit institutum romanum regni sueciae*, Vol. 2. *Acta instituti romani regni sueciae* V:2, Lund 1941, 61 pp., 10 ill., 3 folders.

ERNST GOLDSCHMIDT. *Jean-Baptiste-Siméon Chardin*, Stockholm 1945.

"A Survey of Swedish Art Literature 1940-1945" by O. REUTERSVÄRD has been translated from the Swedish by ALEXANDRA DICK.

- ISAAC GRUNEWALD. *Matisse och expressionismen (Matisse and Expressionism)*. Stockholm 1944, 215 pp., Paper-b. 16½ Cr. Bound 21½ Cr.
- GUSTAF HALLSTROM. *Monumental art of Northern Europe from the Stone Age I-II*. 1938-46.
- PER GUSTAF HAMBERG. *Studies in Roman Imperial art with special reference to the state reliefs of the Second Century*. Upsala 1945, 202 pp., 44 pl. (4 with transparencies).
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- ANDREAS LINDBLOM. *Sveriges konsthistoria fran forntid till nutid (History of art from prehistoric times to the present day)*. I: *From the Stone Age to Gustaf Vasa*. 336 pp., 500 ill., 8 pl., in full color. II: *From Gustaf Vasa to Gustaf III*. 342 pp., 430 ill., 10 pl., in full color. III: *Nineteenth Century*, Stockholm, Nordisk Rotogravyr, 1944-1946, Each Paper-b. 16 Cr. Bound 20 Cr.
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NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

- R. GHIRSHMAN has succeeded J. Hackin, Chief Curator of the Musée Guimet, Paris, after the latter's tragic death, as head of the French archeological mission in Afghanistan. He carried on the excavation work of the city of Begram, north of Kabul, begun by J. Hackin in 1936. He is now in Cairo preparing for publication the results of the important work he did while in Afghanistan. A small but fascinating chapter of this work is represented in his report on: *Excavations by the French Archeological Mission in Afghanistan, 1941-1942: Begram-Kapisi, capital of the Kushan Empire* page 257
- RUDOLF BERLINER, formerly Curator, Bavarian National Museum, Munich, is presently keeper of the Collection of Drawings and Prints, Cooper Union Museum, New York. His special fields of study are decorative and religious art as well as art forgeries. His latest publications were devoted to *Italian Jewelry designs* and *The Stage designs of Cooper Union*. His article in this issue: *The Freedom of Medieval art* page 263
is a new instalment of his inquiry into the sources of inspiration of Christian artists, which already counts studies on *The Virgin with the ears of grain*, *Christ pushed into the Cedron* and *The judgment over Christ*.
- CLEMENS SOMMER, since 1939, professor of art history at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, was previously Assistant Librarian, Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rome (1920-1923); Curator, Augustiner Museum, Freiburg (1923-1927) and, from 1931 to 1937, taught history of art at the University of Greifswald. He has been a frequent contributor to German, Swedish and American periodicals, studying especially Medieval sculpture and Renaissance painting. His article in this issue presents *A new interpretation of Raphael's "Disputa"* page 289
- ANNA WELLS RUTLEDGE was successively with the Valentine Museum, Richmond, Va., the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C., and Curator of Paintings at the Carolina Art Association. She is now associated with the Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Md. American art belongs to her special field of study and her article in this issue throws new light on *William John Coffee as a portrait sculptor* page 297
- OSCAR REUTERSVARD, a graduate student of art history at Stockholm University, and a former pupil of Johnny Roosval, has devoted special study to French Impressionism. His thesis presented some very radical interpretations of this style. A book by him on Claude Monet will appear next year. He has been active in Sweden as a critic of ideas and methods in art history, and has presented his own views on the subject in his recent studies: *Swedish art history of today*, and *Six art historical disputations*. His article in this issue which gives *A survey of Swedish art literature, 1940-1945* page 313
is part of the material contributed by Swedish scholars to the Special Swedish issue of the "Gazette" (October 1945).

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